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French anti-terrorist commandos entering the hijacked Air France Airbus at Marseille's Marignane airport on Monday. Prime Minister Edouard Balladur said that the operation had been carried out with "exemplary courage and efficiency."

French Commandos Kill 4 Hijackers in Marseille

Raid Rescues All Remaining Hostages

By Alan Riding

New York Times Service

PARIS — French paramilitary commandos stormed a hijacked Air France airliner at the Marseille airport Monday night, freeing about 170 hostages and killing the four Islamic militant gunmen who had seized the plane in Algiers 54 hours earlier.

Government officials said that 13 passengers, three crew members and nine policemen were also wounded or injured in the attack, which was launched as night fell in Marseille. Prime Minister Edouard Balladur said the operation was carried out with "exemplary courage and efficiency."

The gunmen, who murdered three hostages in Algiers before they were allowed to fly to France early Monday, reportedly belonged to the Armed Islamic Group, the most violent of the Islamic fundamentalist groups that for the past three years have been trying to topple Algeria's army-backed government.

In a statement released here earlier Monday, the Armed Islamic Group said the action was in reprisal for France's "unconditional political, military and economic aid" to the Algerian regime. It demanded an end to this assistance as one of the conditions for freeing the hostages.

Interior Minister Charles Pasqua said the decision to storm the plane was made after it was clear that no peaceful solution was possible. Other government officials

said the gunmen had threatened to kill another hostage at 5:00 P.M. if the plane were not authorized to fly to Paris.

They said the order to storm the plane came moments after the gunmen fired some shots at the airport control tower around 5:10 P.M. Five minutes later, with French television stations broadcasting live, viewers could see flashes of grenades lighting up the darkened tarmac and could hear the sound of repeated gun shots.

Because shots and explosions were heard for more than 10 minutes, there were initially fears that an action planned to last barely one minute had gone badly wrong. And as rumors flew, French radio and

television reporters on the spot spoke of large numbers of dead and wounded.

But even before Mr. Pasqua appeared alongside Mr. Balladur at a news conference in Paris to give an initial report on the operation, the TF1 and LCI television channels were able to broadcast more detailed dramatic images of the action recorded with special "night" cameras.

These showed that the 30 or so commandos from the Gendarmerie's anti-terrorist unit, who were dressed in black and wearing ski-masks, started their attack at the front of the plane in a move aimed at

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'It Was Really Hell' in Cockpit

Reuters

MARSEILLE — French anti-terrorist police came under a hail of fire Monday when they burst into the cockpit of an Air France Airbus where the four gunmen were holed up.

"It was really hell," said the head of the commando force that launched the assault, which killed all four young Islamic fundamentalist guerrillas.

Major Denis Favier said the hostage-takers had barricaded themselves in the cockpit and "opened the door from time

to time to lob a grenade at us." He said, "We came under a rain of automatic fire."

LCI television ran what it said was exclusive film of the 15-minute attack at the Marseille airport, showing dark-clad and hooded commandos entering the Airbus A-300 by the front and rear passenger doors shortly after 5:15 P.M.

Major Favier said they lobbed stun grenades into the passenger cabin after a shot was fired at the airport control tower.

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Yeltsin Signals Readiness for Peace Talks With Chechens

By Michael Specter

New York Times Service

MOSCOW — In a sign of the deepening chaos surrounding the Kremlin, President Boris N. Yeltsin on Monday told his National Security Council that he was prepared to initiate peace talks with Chechen rebels.

At the same time, one of his most influential deputies insisted publicly that, if anything, the military assault on Grozny, the Chechen capital, must intensify.

Almost every major figure in the government appeared to have a different account

Monday of what has taken place in the breakaway province of Chechnya and what will soon occur, creating the sense of an increasingly rudderless Russian government.

Mr. Yeltsin is scheduled to address the nation Tuesday. Despite his talk of peace, many people here feel that Russian troops will soon storm Grozny.

"It is imperative that gangs in Chechnya be disbanded and Grozny taken quickly," said Deputy Prime Minister Nikolai D. Yegorov, who has been acting as the chief government negotiator throughout the crisis.

"Any delay will be viewed inside and outside Russia as a sign of the nation's weakness."

That has been the hard line assertion for weeks. Deputy Prime Minister Sergei M. Shakhrai underscored that position Monday night by saying that troops would not soon be withdrawn, and that if a blockade of the capital did not quickly bring about peace talks then further use of force would clearly be justified.

"Why are people talking about storming the city?" Mr. Shakhrai asked in a televised interview. "I would call it liberation."

Mr. Yeltsin appeared in public Monday for the first time since he sent 40,000 troops to Chechnya two weeks ago.

"The first stage is coming to an end," he said. "We are going to look at when we can wind up the participation of the military."

Although there was almost no bombing in the capital on Monday, his military continued its assault on the region surrounding the city.

Battles raged throughout the day at the crucial village of Argun, 16 kilometers (10 miles) east of Grozny. Shelling was constant in the capital during the day.

Mr. Yeltsin emerged from a lengthy session to chair the meeting of the National Security Council, which is made up of civilian and military leaders and has played a central role in the war.

Under attack from human rights advocates for days of bombings in Grozny that appeared mostly to affect civilians, Mr. Yeltsin endured some of his sharpest criticism Monday.

"I simply cannot understand what is the reason for our young and not-so-young to

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Pakistan Orders India to Close Mission, Citing Terrorist Links

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan — Pakistan ordered India on Monday to close its consulate in Karachi, saying it was "sponsoring terrorism" in the city.

The Pakistani order to close the mission reflected a clear worsening in the ties between the two traditional foes.

Foreign Secretary Najmuddin Sheikh said that the government had evidence that India was behind the strife that has nearly crippled Karachi, Pakistan's largest city, a port of 9 million people.

"India should be treated as a state that is sponsoring terrorism," Mr. Sheikh said in the capital, Islamabad. "Obviously we cannot allow a center for sabotage, subversion and terrorism to continue to operate within Pakistan."

In New Delhi, an Indian Foreign Ministry spokesman said the order to close the mission "was a matter of greatest regret." He described as unfounded Pakistan's claim that Indian officials were involved in violence in Karachi.

At least 150 people have died in Karachi since Dec. 1 in fighting between political, ethnic and religious rivals.

Mr. Sheikh said: "We have been constrained to take this decision because of clear and fresh evidence of India's involvement in the planning, instigation and execution of acts of terrorism and violence in Karachi and of the propagation of disaffection and propaganda against the unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Pakistan."

He said he had conveyed the order to High Commissioner S. K. Lambah, the Indian ambassador, asking him to withdraw the 20-member consulate staff, including four diplomats.

He said Mr. Lambah told him that he did not accept the allegations.

Mr. Sheikh said the consulate had been coordinating "networks" of "agents trained for the purposes of conducting terrorism and other anti-state activity."

He said the police had arrested 14 people.

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Baby Boom Brings New Life to Sarajevo

By John Pomfret

Washington Post Service

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Slavica Topic had an exhausting Christmas.

Shortly before midnight on Christmas Eve, her contractions started. Sometime before 3 A.M., she gave birth to a girl, tentatively named Melissa. Sunday she rested at Sarajevo's main hospital while her baby lay swaddled in a metal basket next door.

The decision to have a child was a difficult one, Mrs. Topic said. Despite hopes that a new cease-fire will hold, there is little hope of an imminent end to Bosnia's 32-month-old war. But the Roman Catholic woman and her Muslim husband resolved to damn the future and have the child anyway.

"We couldn't wait much longer," said Mrs. Topic, 36. "The clock is ticking for me — and for my country."

In Sarajevo, more and more couples are coming to the same conclusion. A mini baby boom has erupted in the besieged capital — a product of slightly better times, impatient couples and some government encouragement. Last year, Kosevo Hospital counted 1,350 newborn babies; this year, the figure is expected to be up almost 50 percent, breaking 2,000 for the first time in three years.

The development illustrates a fundamental change in the way Sarajevoans view the war that has enveloped them since April 1992. Last year, couples avoided pregnancy because many did not want their children born and raised in a war zone. Abortions skyrocketed, as did the cost of birth control.

Now, the war does not appear any closer to resolution, but Sarajevo's siege has become almost routine for the city's residents. Child-bearing is more common, abortions are less

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Moderate Republicans Back Their Speaker

For Now at Least, Gingrich Has Their Allegiance in Congress

By Michael Wines

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Representative Sherwood Boehlert, who represents Ulster in upstate New York in the new and deeply conservative House of Representatives, is firmly on the left fringe of the Republican Party.

He has sided with Democrats on many social issues. There have been years when the American Civil Liberties Union and the AFL-CIO have rated his legislative stands more favorably than has the American Conservative Union.

But when the House convenes next week, Mr. Boehlert says he will be marching to the conservative tune of Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, the new House speaker. So will his friends.

"I'll be very surprised if you find any dissenting voices among those who wear the label of moderate," he said in an interview.

"We may have a difference with the leadership on some of the social agenda, like choice or school prayer. But in many respects, they're peripheral to the general theme: less government, reduced intrusion into our private lives, less regulation."

Mr. Boehlert and the 30 or 40 middle-of-the-road Republicans among the 231

members of the party in the House are a big enough bloc to do in Mr. Gingrich's huddling revolution if they choose. The same is true in the Senate, where eight or nine moderate Republicans could easily block the will of the new Republican majority.

But Mr. Gingrich, the same fellow who so adeptly plays the television role of right-wing ideologue, has managed to sweep the moderates deeper into the conservative fold, the House moderates say.

Mr. Gingrich met with moderate leaders even before his first successful race for the House leadership in 1989.

In recent months, for example, he has held almost weekly meetings with Republican women, most of them moderates, and has emerged in some of their minds as a more pragmatic and accommodating leader than they first expected.

"One thing about Gingrich: he's amazed me with his willingness to sit down and listen," said Representative Deborah Pryce, a second-term moderate from Columbus, Ohio. "He understands he's one vote. He's never twisted arms off."

Some of that, they say, has surfaced in his appointments: one moderate, Representative Susan Molinari of New York, has won a midlevel position in the House leadership, and others, including Representative Jim Leach of Iowa and Mr. Boehlert, have gotten important committee posts that could have been denied them.

Moderates in both chambers say they will work behind the scenes, first to push Republican legislation as much toward the center as possible, and then to push whatever compromise they can achieve into law.

Eventually, that may prove less true in the Senate, a place where legislators march

largely to their own drummers and where Mr. Gingrich's haste looks a bit unseemly.

And moderates in both chambers agree that wielding the broad brush of their party's agenda is the easy part. "It's when we come down to some of the specifics that we may have some trouble, like the distinction between a moment of silent prayer and a constitutional amendment," said Representative Marge Roukema, a New

See MODERATES, Page 3

Kiosk

Haiti Soldiers Protest Plan to Reduce Army

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti (Reuters) — At least three people were injured outside Haitian military headquarters Monday during a demonstration by Haitian soldiers protesting a plan to scale down the army, witnesses and military officials said.

One Haitian uniformed soldier and two Haitian civilians were wounded and more than 10 Haitian soldiers were detained, according to a U.S. military police captain, Randy Durian.

One witness, Patrick Ajeor, said the unrest started when two of the protesting soldiers slapped the army chief of staff, General Moudésir Beaubrun, outside the military headquarters. The general then "shot the two soldiers and they fell on the ground," Mr. Ajeor said. That account could not immediately be confirmed.

U.S. Acts on Korea

The United States is sending a diplomat to North Korea at Pyongyang's invitation to help speed the release of a U.S. helicopter pilot. Meanwhile, the North charged that the helicopter overflight was deliberate espionage requiring further investigation. (Page 3)

Book Review

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MOSCOW SIGHT — Grandfather Frost making an appearance Monday on Red Square in advance of Orthodox Christmas on Jan. 7.

Old England's Cathedrals Seek New Financing

By William E. Schmidt

New York Times Service

LONDON — As usual, this season's ambitious schedule of Masses and carol services at St. Paul's Cathedral are free to worshippers. Yet for the tourists who line up for a tour under Sir Christopher Wren's famous dome, the charge is the same as the rest of the year: admission at the door is £3, or about \$4.50.

"People see this grand place and think we surely must be rich," said Robert Acworth, registrar and chief administrator for the cathedral, which has dominated London's skyline since the end of the 17th century. "But in point of fact, we are not well endowed, and the costs of upkeep are very high."

The admission fee was first levied in 1991, and tourism, including gift shop sales, now counts for about 60 percent of the cathedral's income.

For officials at St. Paul's, like many of Britain's other great cathedrals, the levying of admission fees is just one of the innovative ways that Church of England leaders are now dealing with one of the more taxing consequences of their own rich inheritance: the soaring cost of sustaining these aging architectural monuments. In many cases, tourists outnumber the rolls of weekly worshippers.

By one count, 19 cathedrals are in financial deficit, and across England, church officials are faced with coming up with more than \$45 million over the next five years to keep up basic restoration work on crumbling brickwork, worn tiles and sagging casements.

In a determined search for new sources of revenue, the stewards of many of England's 42 Anglican cathedrals have embarked on a variety of plans, from doing a better job of marketing their cathedrals' tourist potential to making their own commercial deals with local businesses and sponsors.

"It's an important but difficult question," said Stephen Jenkins, a spokesman for the Church of England. "How do you find ways to raise money to maintain these splendid old buildings, while not getting yourself tied into knots with the real mission of the church, which is ministry and mercy?"

Some of the ventures have been very successful. At the Bristol Cathedral, in the west of England, the cost of the cathedral's choral and musical programs is now underwritten by an annual grant from Nuclear Electric, the British energy conglomerate, in return for placing the company's logo and name in choral programs.

In Nottinghamshire, a \$2 million fund-raising campaign to refurbish the Southwell Cathedral is being

jointly sponsored and organized by officials at Britain's National Westminster Bank.

Other ideas have not been so well received. In Salisbury, a sponsorship arrangement between the cathedral and McDonald's founder, after critics objected to a plan in which visitors to the cathedral who offered the equivalent of a \$2 donation would receive miniature scrolls detailing its history and a coupon for a free Big Mac.

Even more fiercely disputed was a plan in the late 1980s by clergy at the Hereford Cathedral, who suggested selling off its ancient copy of the "Mappa Mundi," a 13th century map of the world. The money was needed to make repairs at the cathedral, but the map was withdrawn from sale after a sharp public outcry, which in turn resulted in the intervention of John Paul Getty.

Mr. Getty, among others, put up several million dollars to build a separate building at the cathedral to house the treasure, but officials in Hereford say the church still does not have the money it needs to make critical repairs, including fixing crumbling masonry in the tower.

As a result of the growing financial pressure on

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Newsstand Prices	
Bahrain	0.800 Din
Cyprus	0.100 P.K.
Denmark	14.000 D.Kr.
Finland	11 F.M.
Gibraltar	0.85
Great Britain	0.85
Egypt	E.P. 5000
Jordan	1 J.D.
Kenya	K.S.H. 150
Kuwait	500 Fils
Malta	35 c.
Nigeria	110.00 Naira
Norway	15 N.Kr.
Oman	1,000 Riels
Qatar	8.00 Riels
Saudi Arabia	9.00 R.
South Africa	0.85
U.A.E.	0.85 Dirh
U.S. Mail	1.10
Zimbabwe	200.00

Rabin Bolsters Cabinet

2 Rightists Given Senior Positions

By Clyde Haberman

New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — After struggling almost all year without an assured parliamentary majority, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has strengthened his government by giving senior posts to two lawmakers who switched over from the rightist opposition.

The maneuver still leaves Mr. Rabin short of a guaranteed majority, for even with the two newcomers he can count on only 58 votes in the 120-member Knesset.

But as he pursues peace negotiations with the Palestinians and Syria that hardly command overwhelming popular support, he has provided himself with extra insurance against the possibility of his government's being brought down suddenly by a vote of no-confidence.

Such votes, although thus far unsuccessful, have plagued him almost every week since he took office in mid-1992, on everything from his peace policies to the moral fiber of the biblical King David.

With the move Sunday, the prime minister is also less needy of Shas, a religious party that walked out on him at the start of 1994 and that he has been trying to win back ever since.

Shas, whose leader, Aryeh Deri, is on trial for embezzling government funds, has forced Mr. Rabin to jump repeatedly through political hoops. But the party keeps denying him its six parliamentary votes, no matter how many concessions he makes in Israel's eternal religious-secular disputes.

Mr. Rabin's goal is clear: to win Jewish support for his peace program. After he lost Shas, he was forced to muster a majority by turning to five lawmakers from Arab-dominated parties that are not part of his governing coalition. That is still true, notwithstanding the events Sunday.

Some government ministers argue that a majority is a majority no matter how it is formed, with a few adding that it is racist to dismiss Arabs who have Israeli citizenship.

But the prime minister's sense is that domestic realpolitik requires him to have a "Jewish majority" for possible painful territorial compromises with Syria and the Palestinians.

So from his vantage, the addition of the two rightists from the tiny Yisud faction is an important step in the right direction, even though they are unenthusiastic allies at best.

Both men, Gonen Segev and Alex Goldfarb, had been firm opponents of the Rabin peace policies. Most Israeli political commentators say the two are motivated more by personal ambition than ideology since breaking earlier this year from the far-right Tsomet party.

Rabin's Visit to Oman Is First by Israeli Official

Agence France-Press

MUSCAT, Oman — Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel has begun a visit to this Gulf Arab state for talks with Sultan Qaboos bin Said, the Oman News Agency said Monday.

The visit is the first by a senior Israeli official. The two nations have no diplomatic ties.

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"Touched by the numerous letters received during his recent hospitalization, His Serene Highness Prince Rainier III of Monaco would like to express sincere gratitude to all those who sent him messages of goodwill and sympathy on this occasion."

UN and Bosnia Dispute Success of Cease-Fire

Reuters

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — United Nations officials said Monday that the latest cease-fire was taking hold, contradicting Bosnian government accusations that Bosnian Serbian forces had mounted attacks in the northwest enclave of Bihac.

Bosnia's Muslim-led government has protested to the United Nations over Serbian troop movements and attacks in the enclave, and threatened to retaliate elsewhere in Bosnia unless the United Nations resolved the problem.

The dispute over the Bihac enclave threatened to

disrupt the cease-fire, reached through mediation by former President Jimmy Carter.

Bosnian government leaders said Sunday that talks on a more extensive truce would not take place until the situation around the town of Velika Kladusa, in the north of the enclave, was settled.

United Nations officials hope the seven-day cease-fire will open the way for a four-month cessation of hostilities and a resumption of peace talks aimed at ending the 33-month-old war.

A UN spokesman, Alexander Ivankov, said in Sarajevo that peacekeepers could not verify allegations

about Bosnian Serbian troop maneuvers in Bihac made by the Bosnian vice president, Ejup Ganic.

Mr. Ivankov said the cease-fire in Bosnia was "taking hold and that orders concerning the cease-fire are filtering down to the unit level."

The Croatian Serbs and their allies among rebel Muslims have not signed the cease-fire agreed to by the Bosnian Serbs and the Sarajevo government.

Government troops have suffered serious setbacks in the past month in fighting in the Bihac enclave, with Serbian forces surrounding Bihac town and Croatian Serbs and rebel Muslims recently capturing Velika Kladusa.



Bosnian Serbian soldiers during a reconnaissance patrol Monday near the southern town of Teslic.

BIRTHS:

Boom in Sarajevo

Continued from Page 1

frequent, and condoms are no longer scarce.

"It's something we've lived with and gotten used to," said Saad Bogdanovic, 22, a Bosnian government soldier whose wife gave birth to a son last week. "Sometimes we get so crazy that we even like it. I never would have gotten married if there was no war. But once that happened, the urge to survive made us have a child."

Almo Kapitanovic, a neonatal doctor at Kosevo, agreed that the survival urge had fueled the increased birthrate.

"These are not decisions made from joy," he said. "These are births that come from a need to stay alive. These are reactions to the siege, to fear. What's an automatic reaction for a couple? Have another child."

"They say every other generation in old Yugoslavia would taste war," he said. "I hope these children don't share that fate."

Other factors have contributed to the baby boom.

For one, international agencies guarantee an expectant mother extra food after her third month of pregnancy. In addition, once she gives birth, her baby is given special food packets for up to a year and sometimes more.

Government rules on giving birth also have been relaxed. During Sarajevo's roughest times, in 1992 and 1993, pregnant women had to supply the energy-strapped hospital with 9 liters (2.5 gallons) of diesel fuel and several liters of water before they would be treated.

With fuel prices running at about \$16 a liter and the average monthly salary around 75 cents, few people could afford the fee. Some births were done by candlelight, and some C-sections sections were completed without proper painkillers.

In an ill-fit corner of a recovery ward, Lejma Mahmutic, 27, was resting after giving birth. She had had two abortions before she and her husband decided to have a child.

"You need to keep going," she said. "To have a normal life. It's a way of fighting back, of telling the Serbs they won't control us forever."

CHURCH: Soaring Upkeep

Continued from Page 1

England's great cathedrals, church officials had succeeded in 1990 in convincing English Heritage, a government-supported agency, to make available a limited number of grants of public money to help restore some of the buildings.

In addition, the Archbishop of Canterbury convened in 1992 a special church commission on England's cathedrals, which last summer issued a 262-page report titled "Heritage & Renewal."

Among its myriad charts counting tourism revenues and visits, it wrestled somewhat inconclusively with the contradictory demands on the great buildings, alternately regarded both as temporal definitions of English heritage, and spiritual temples whose majesty was described as "an expression of what might otherwise remain inarticulate, a perception of the holy, an anticipation of eternity."

Before his meeting with the National Security Council, Mr. Yeltsin said, "We are going to look at when we can wind up the participation of the military and go on to the second stage — forming administrative organs in the Chechen republic."

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Radio Freedom in Ghana: Not Just Yet

By Howard W. French

New York Times Service

ACCRA, Ghana — When Charles Werekro Brobby applied to the government in May for a frequency needed to start his own radio station, the businessman, an expert in electronic communications who has dabbled in journalism and government, seemed to have the profile of a broadcaster.

So when months passed without any official response to his petition, Mr. Brobby, backed by a group of ready investors, decided to invoke his constitutional right to freedom of expression and simply go on the air.

"From 88.5 to 108 on the FM band there are more than 1,000 stations in the U.S.," Mr. Brobby said. "Now I know that the United States is a very advanced country, but are they so far ahead of us that we should have only three stations here, all of them state-owned?"

Radio Eye, Mr. Brobby's station, started cautiously in early December with a diet of popular music that in a few days won it a listenership of taxi drivers, housewives and young people.

Then came the government's reply. Armed soldiers seized the transmitter and closed the station down, and prosecutors charged the 41-year-old entrepreneur with illegal broadcasting.

Ghana has been in the forefront of reform efforts sweeping Africa, aimed at opening up economies crippled by years of state ownership and regulation. Here as elsewhere, these moves have been accompanied by a political loosening that has seen the formation of opposition parties and the holding of contested elections.

But as the experience of Radio Eye shows, few African governments have been willing to cede much control of broadcasting.

"These people have seen what free electronic media can do in other countries, and they are scared to death," said Audrey Gadzekpo, a Ghanaian magazine editor and columnist.

Official explanations for the treatment of Mr. Brobby range from narrow legalisms to statements of concern over the need to guard against the perils of tribal-

ism, religious conflict and, some say, consumerism.

"This government is fully committed to freedom of expression," said Kojo Yankah, deputy minister of information. "But for our purposes, at this moment, radio and television should serve as the forum for a discussion of our development needs. I am afraid that our society is not as stable as some others, and we could have disorder as a result of the misuse of this resource."

In addition to being a businessman and journalistic gadfly, Mr. Brobby is a leading member of the National People's Party, one of the country's main opposition groups. This blending of roles has caused many, even among journalists who support the idea of free use of the airwaves, to criticize Mr. Brobby's flamboyant approach as self-promotion.

But even as it pursued its hard line toward Mr. Brobby, the government, perhaps embarrassed by negative reaction, announced that it would begin opening the airwaves to private broadcasters early in the new year.

PAKISTAN: Saying India Backs Terror, Islamabad Orders Mission Shut

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ple in the past week who claimed to have been recruited by India's secret service to create trouble in Karachi. He said one had confessed to a shooting last year in which 15 people died.

Several months ago, Pakistan ordered the Karachi consulate's

staff cut to 20 from 64, saying most of the staff were intelligence agents.

India and Pakistan routinely trade accusations, and reciprocal expulsions of diplomats are common. The two countries have fought three wars since they gained independence from Britain in 1947.

Earlier Monday, Pakistan expelled an Indian Embassy employee, Deepak Thakur, on charges of spying. India expelled a Pakistani diplomat on similar charges last week.

"These expulsions are not going to accomplish anything, and they are certainly not going to improve relations," said Partha

Sarathi, a spokesman at the Indian High Commission in Islamabad.

Much of the violence in Karachi involves members of the militant Muhajir National Movement, which represents Indian Muslims who migrated to Pakistan in 1947.

(A.P. Reuters)

YELTSIN: Kremlin Leader Signals Readiness for Talks With Chechens

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die," said Deputy Defense Minister Boris V. Gromov, who commanded the Soviet retreat from Afghanistan. General Gromov has been critical of the incursion into Chechnya, but never so openly.

Russian television reported that Mr. Yeltsin had prepared a decree firing General Gromov and two other deputy defense ministers, General Georgi Konradov and General Sergei Mironov.

The president's office had no comment on the firings, and it could not be independently confirmed that they had been carried out.

Representatives of both

Reuters reported from Moscow: The Russian press agency Itar-Tass said Monday that Mr. Yeltsin would issue a decree in the next day or two to set up an interim commission for the observance of human rights that would join negotiations with the Chechens.

And the Interfax news agency quoted Vladimir Shumeiko, head of the upper house of Parliament and a National Security Council member, as saying three officials had been appointed to lead talks with Chechnya in Mr. Yeltsin's name.

Representatives of both

houses of Parliament would also take part, Mr. Shumeiko said.

It was not clear how the Chechen leader, Dzhokhar Dudayev, would respond. Previous efforts to renew talks that broke down Dec. 14 have failed, but one Chechen official on Monday signaled a softening of Chechnya's stance.

Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev, a Chechen vice president, said Chechnya was ready to negotiate with Moscow even while Russian troops were in the region, a departure from its previous line.

Representatives of both

region of about 1 million people, declared its independence in 1991.

Military leaders have said the Russian troops' initial tasks were to seal off Grozny and disarm Chechen fighters. Mr. Yeltsin made it clear the Kremlin then planned to install its own representatives, at least temporarily, if Mr. Dudayev is ousted.

Before his meeting with the National Security Council, Mr. Yeltsin said, "We are going to look at when we can wind up the participation of the military and go on to the second stage — forming administrative organs in the Chechen republic."

WORLD BRIEFS

Centrist Now Backs Berlusconi Party

ROME (Reuters) — One of Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's most vocal opponents said Monday that the Forza Italia party could lead a new government to pass institutional reforms and guide Italy toward new elections.

Rocco Buttiglione, head of the centrist Popular Party, which co-sponsored a vote of no-confidence against Mr. Berlusconi's coalition this month, said the conservative Forza Italia had the right to request to head a new government.

"We are moving toward the formation of a new government that will certainly not last four years, but it will surely last for more than four days," Mr. Buttiglione told reporters. "If Forza Italia agrees that this new government should tackle Italy's most urgent problems, they not only have the right to take part in it, they also have the right to ask to lead it. They are the party with the relative majority."

Attack on Synagogue Fails in Lyon

LYON (AFP) — Cylinders of gas were used in an unsuccessful bomb attack on a synagogue here late on Christmas Day, the municipal administration said.

About half an hour before midnight on Christmas Day, unidentified attackers used gasoline to set fire to a stolen car containing four cylinders of propane gas outside the synagogue, one of 24 in the city.

Neighbors called the fire department, which extinguished the flames before the cylinders exploded. "If they had exploded they would have caused very extensive damage," a spokesman said.

Japan Slates Upper House Elections

TOKYO (Reuters) — Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama's unwieldy coalition has scheduled elections for the upper house of Parliament on July 23 next year in what could be the first major test of his left-right alliance.

Coalition party officials said Monday that the three partners in the governing alliance informally decided the date for the nationwide polls after agreeing to reconvene Parliament on Jan. 20 for a 150-day regular session.

The Social Democratic Party is in an awkward alliance with their one-time foes in the Liberal Democratic Party and with the small Japan New Party Sakigake. Mr. Murayama came to power in June after his Socialists crossed over from an anti-liberal Democratic Party coalition. He has repeatedly said he would not call general elections for the more powerful lower house, or Diet, until after the upper house elections.

Israel Curbs PLO in East Jerusalem

JERUSALEM (AFP) — The Israeli Parliament on Monday adopted by a large majority a law aimed at preventing official Palestine Liberation Organization activities in Jerusalem.

The bill, presented by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's government, was endorsed at the third and final reading, 56 to 6. Thirty-two deputies abstained.

The law prevents the PLO from having a mission in Arab East Jerusalem, which was annexed by Israel in 1967, or from organizing public meetings there without prior permission.

Macedonia Deports 18 Albanians

PRISTINA, Yugoslavia (AP) — Macedonian police have deported 18 ethnic Albanians to the southern Serbian province of Kosovo, the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug said Monday.

Tanjung said the 18 were deported for their alleged support of an Albanian-language university. But Interior Ministry officials in Macedonia said they were expelled because they did not have proper residency permits.

About 1,000 other people of various nationalities were to be deported for the same reason, an Interior Ministry official said.

Chinese Leader Starts Visit to Burma

RANGOON, Burma (AP) — Prime Minister Li Peng arrived Monday for a three-day visit to Burma, underlining the close relations between China and its military-led southern neighbor.

China is the most important international friend of Burma, which is ostracized by many Western nations because of the junta's disregard for human rights and failure to restore democracy.

Mr. Li, his wife and a 79-member entourage were welcomed at the Rangoon airport by the junta chairman, Senior General Than Shwe, in his capacity as prime minister. The Chinese prime minister is only the fourth foreign head of government to visit Burma since the junta seized power in 1988.

Coalition to Govern Basque Region

VITORIA, Spain (AP) — Spain's Basque region, beset by separatist violence and controversy over the limits of home rule, got a new coalition government Monday committed to bringing radicals into the fold of peaceful politics.

The three-party coalition's program calls for ending the conflict through "a solution based on dialogue among political forces," an ambiguity widely seen as implying contacts with Herri Batasuna, the political wing of the Basque separatist organization ETA.

The coalition will be headed by the moderate Basque Nationalist Party, known by its Spanish initials PNV. The junior partners will be the Socialist Party, which heads the central government in Madrid, and the Basque Union, a splinter party of the PNV. The PNV won 22 of the 75 seats in the regional parliament in October. The Socialists won 12 seats and Basque Union got eight.

TRAVEL UPDATE

Manila Calls U.S. Warning 'Unfair'

MANILA (AP) — Philippine officials contended Monday that a U.S. travel advisory had unfairly depicted the country as a dangerous place for foreigners.

Foreign Secretary Roberto Romulo said Manila wanted "evenhandedness and fair play" from the Americans in discussing crime and security. A U.S. consular information sheet released Sept. 19 said that in the Philippines, "homicides, kidnapping, other crimes of violence, confidence games, pickpocketing and credit card fraud are common." Foreign tourists are often victims of petty crime, it said.

"Personally, it doesn't sit well with our government," said the presidential press secretary, Jesus Sison. "The U.S. was unfair in issuing the statement because there are also crimes in the big cities in the U.S. The only difference is, while we focus attention on the crimes, the Americans do not unless it's a very sensational case like O.J. Simpson."

Belgian police closed some main roads in Brussels on Monday and several expressways in southern Belgium were almost impassable after heavy rainfalls froze overnight. Domestic and international train services were delayed but Brussels international airport was operating normally.

Fifteen people were killed and 434 were injured, 73 critically, in 728 accidents on Portuguese highways over the Christmas weekend, the police reported Monday.

(AP)

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Australia	022-969-012	El Salvador	000-002	Israel	177-150-2177	Morocco	177-150-2177	Switzerland	165-0223
Bahamas	1-800-624-1000	France	000-002	Jamaica	177-150-2177	Netherlands	177-150-2177	Taiwan	0800
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Bermuda	1-800-823-0484	Guatemala	080-2222	Kuwait	9800-102-80	Poland	000-002	Ukraine	001-790
Bolivia	080-2222	Honduras	080-2222	Laos	9800-102-80	Portugal	000-002	United Arab Emirates	00-800-1177
Brazil	080-2222	India	080-2222	Lebanon	0130-0012	Puerto Rico	000-002	United Kingdom	87-010-013
Canada	1-800-389-8000	Indonesia	080-2222	Lithuania	0130-0012	Romania	000-002	USA	800-111
Cayman Islands	1-800-624-1000	Italy	080-2222	Luxembourg	1-800-624-1000	Russia	000-002		
Chile	000-002	Japan	080-2222	Macao	080-2222	Saudi Arabia	000-002		
Colombia	080-2222	Kazakhstan	080-2222	Madagascar	080-2222	Slovak Republic	000-002		
Costa Rica	080-2222	Kenya	080-2222	Malawi	080-2222	Slovenia	000-002		
Croatia	080-2222	Korea	080-2222	Mali	080-2222	Sri Lanka	000-002		
Czech Republic	080-2222	Kuwait	080-2222	Moldova	080-2222	Sudan	000-002		
		Laos	080-2222	Monaco	080-2222	Swaziland	000-002		
		Latvia	080-2222	Morocco	080-2222	Togo	000-002		
		Lebanon	080-2222	Nicaragua	080-2222	Tunisia	000-002		
		Lithuania	080-2222	Peru	080-2222	Turkmenistan	000-002		
		Luxembourg	080-2222	Poland	080-2222	Uganda	000-002		
		Macao	080-2222	Portugal	080-2222	Ukraine	000-002		
		Madagascar	080-2222	Puerto Rico	080-2222	USA	800-111		
		Malawi	080-2222	Romania	080-2222				
		Mali	080-2222	Russia	080-2222				
		Moldova	080-2222	Saudi Arabia	080-2222				
		Monaco	080-2222	Slovak Republic	080-2222				
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		Nicaragua	080-2222	Sri Lanka	080-2222				
		Peru	080-2222	Sudan	080-2222				
		Poland	080-2222	Swaziland	080-2222				

THE AMERICAS / WHITE HOUSE DANGERS

Clamor Rises to Close a D.C. Airport

By Stephen C. Fehr
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — A recent plane crash at the White House and a rash of shootings there have led some aviation analysts to urge federal officials to close National Airport as a security precaution against an air attack on the mansion.

Shutting down the 53-year-old airport, which is three miles south of the White House, has been suggested by groups who said they believed that National was too noisy or unsafe.

Federal officials have dismissed such ideas and are not

taking the latest proposal seriously.

Although National is not likely to close any time soon, the new concern about the security of the White House, Pentagon, Capitol and other buildings is nonetheless getting more attention. A plane approaching or taking off from National could attack those buildings by veering into the restricted area over Washington.

"It wouldn't take long for an airplane taking off from National to be up over the White House, Capitol or Pentagon and then — bam — it's all

over," said David S. Stempler, executive director of the International Airline Passengers Association.

He has urged the Federal Aviation Administration to close National and shift its operations to Dulles and Baltimore-Washington International airports and Andrews Air Force Base in Prince George's County.

An agency spokesman said officials would not comment on Mr. Stempler's proposal or anything else related to the possible closing of National. James A. Wilding, general manager of

the Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority, which runs National and Dulles, said the proximity of National did not make much difference. A pilot determined to attack the White House could do so from almost anywhere, he said.

In September, Frank Corder, 38, of Aberdeen, Maryland, stole a single-engine Cessna from an airfield north of Baltimore. Under the influence of alcohol and cocaine, he flew south to Washington and slammed into the South Lawn of the White House before the plane slid into the west side of the mansion below the president's living quarters. Mr. Corder, an unemployed truck driver, was killed.

The crash, and subsequent incidents involving shootings just outside the White House, prompted a security review by the Secret Service that is scheduled to be completed next month.

James J. Hoogerwerf, a Delta Air Lines pilot who flies in and out of National, said the September suicide crash pointed up the inadequacy of security measures at the White House.

"Despite a major reconstruction program in progress," he said, "any realistic security plan will have to take National's viability under advisement. Will national security concerns finally be its death knell?"

National, the 22d busiest U.S. airport, with 45,000 passengers a day, is undergoing a \$1 billion renovation, the centerpiece of which is a new terminal designed to last well into the next century. The idea of closing the airport strikes some officials as far-fetched.

Leo G. Janssens, president of the Ohio-based Aviation Safety Institute and a pilot who has flown Boeing 777s into National, noted that with the airport so close to the Mall, a terrorist or assassin could take off or approach National in legal airspace and within seconds veer away to attack.

"As long as National is there, there's no way you can keep a saboteur heliborne on an attack out of the White House area," he said.

Flights are banned over the White House; the restricted area extends between the Lincoln Memorial and the Capitol. Planes landing at National usually fly along the Potomac River at the edge of the restricted area.

Pilots are supposed to contact air traffic controllers and follow their instructions.



NOT SO MERRY — Prime Minister Smarck Michel of Haiti handing out snacks through the fence to hundreds of youths who were left out of a Christmas party on the palace grounds. A melee broke out inside the grounds when some 1,500 youngsters, who were kept waiting for several hours, grew restless and demanded their share of the gifts.

U.S. Hopes Envoy Will Win Pilot's Release

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration is sending a diplomat to North Korea at Pyongyang's invitation to help speed up the release of a captured U.S. Army helicopter pilot, the State Department said Monday.

[In another development Monday, North Korea branded the helicopter overflight as deliberate espionage requiring further investigation under military law, the Korean Central News Agency said, according to a Reuters report.]

[Monitored in London, the report said that Pyongyang had demanded that Wash-

ington "admit its responsibility as the offender" and show a reasonable attitude "before it is too late."

The dispatch said an official investigation had shown that this was clearly not an "accidental case" caused by a "mistake" in a training flight, but a deliberate act of espionage. "Detaining and investigating criminals is a matter related to our dignified sovereignty," it said.

The new U.S. envoy is Thomas Hubbard, deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asia and the Pacific.

The Hubbard mission, according to the State Department spokesman, Michael

McCurry, is to facilitate the return of Chief Warrant Officer Bobby Hall.

The other crew member on the craft, Chief Warrant Officer David Hilemon, was killed in the crash, according to North Korea. Pyongyang released Mr. Hilemon's body on Thursday.

Earlier Monday, a U.S. general met with a general from the North Korean People's Army at the town of Panmunjom. The U.S. military said that "no substantive progress was made and the Korean People's Army would not set a date for Hall's release."

(Reuters, WP)

Job Insecurity: A Fact of Academic Life

By Boyce Rensberger
Washington Post Service

HOUSTON — Joy Mulholland's scientific career is in trouble.

Until a few months ago, the Baylor College of Medicine researcher was leading a team of

three other Ph.D.s and a technician studying how hormones regulate cells in the uterus. The research was relevant to developing better contraceptives, improved treatment for infertility and new approaches to uterine cancer. And, as the result of a surprise finding earlier this year, it looked as if the lab was on the trail of a new insight into Alzheimer's disease.

But Ms. Mulholland has disbanded her team and is shutting down her lab. Her grant money ran out last summer and even though she wrote lots of proposals that got high marks from such funding agencies as the National Institutes of Health, they brought in no money. Each time, there were too many other proposals that received slightly more favorable evaluations and got all the available funds.

"I had to tell my people they should look for other jobs," the Harvard-trained molecular biologist said. "I won't have the money to pay myself, either. I'll be out the door, too."

All Baylor scientists, like those from most other academic research centers, must raise part or all of their salaries and fringe benefits through grants. And those grants must also provide the salaries and benefits of the scientists who work for them.

At Baylor and many other top-ranked private universities from Harvard to Stanford, most or all researchers are on this "soft money."

When hard times come, the university may — or may not — pick up a scientist's salary for a few months or maybe a year. Researchers who have not won a new grant in that time are expected to leave. State institutions are more likely to guarantee salaries but, because all universities count on taking a cut — sometimes more than 30 percent — of every grant for "overhead," their scientists are still

under fierce pressure to bring in money in the form of grants. Of Baylor's 60 faculty members in the Department of Cell Biology, one of the main fields of basic biomedical research, almost everyone has lost at least one grant and many have had to let people go. Ms. Mulholland said.

"It's a rough system," said William Brinkley, a prominent cell biologist and dean of Baylor's graduate school, "but that's the way science works in this country. My frustration is listening to these horror stories

under fierce pressure to bring in money in the form of grants. Of Baylor's 60 faculty members in the Department of Cell Biology, one of the main fields of basic biomedical research, almost everyone has lost at least one grant and many have had to let people go. Ms. Mulholland said.

But as the number of new scientists kept rising, the competition kept getting stiffer. Postdoctoral fellowships, which pay about \$18,000 to \$20,000 a year, grew longer and if no job materialized after the first fellowship, the only choice was to take a second one. And, for a growing number, a third one. Today it is not unusual to find "young scientists" pushing 40 and barely making the median salary for all American workers, which was \$23,000 a year in 1992, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. And they are still without a permanent job.

Openings for faculty positions at major institutions commonly draw 300 to 400 applications. Of these, many department chairmen say, maybe 100 are outstanding candidates. Another sign of the plight of young scientists emerged from a study in which the National Academy of Sciences found that the number of researchers under age 37 who were applying for grants had dropped by about half since 1985.

The study did not reveal what had happened to the young scientists but many in the scientific community believe that they have not found the permanent jobs that give them standing to apply. Instead, they remain in low-paying, temporary postdoctoral positions, working for a steadily graying population of more senior scientists who do have grants.

His Latin-lover looks won him starring roles in "Three Coins in the Fountain" (1954) and "The Barefoot Contessa" (1954) — both of which were made in Hollywood and set in Italy. He also had leading roles in "The Ten Commandments" (1956), "Little Women" (1949) and "South Pacific" (1958).

Sylvia Koscina, 61, a Yugoslav-born actress who starred in Italian and Hollywood films in the 1960s, died of heart problems Monday in Rome, a spokesman from a private clinic said. Her best-known films include Federico Fellini's "Juliet of the Spirits" (1965) and "A Lovely Way to Die" (1968).

Rossano Brazzi, 78, a Star of Films in 1950s and 1960s. ROME (Reuters) — Rossano Brazzi, 78, a leading star of the 1950s and '60s who played Continental lovers and aristocrats on Hollywood screens, died in a clinic here Saturday from a virus affecting his nervous system, state television said on Monday.

most likely at a much-reduced salary.

A generation or two ago, a scientist with a new Ph.D. could expect to go straight into a job on a university faculty. Then, as competition for better faculty positions grew, new scientists sought to broaden their training and experience by taking postdoctoral fellowships for a year or two. Then they would get the real job.

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POLITICAL NOTES

No Nostalgia for the Governor

HARTFORD, Connecticut — Winter sun streams through the windows onto the half-empty boxes of awards and mementos that Governor Lowell P. Weicker Jr. has begun packing.

His heavy wooden desk sits ready to be cleared and carried off, along with his bound Watergate Committee volumes and lamps made from 105-millimeter shell casings — all possessions with which he surrounded himself in office.

Most people would be forgiven a little sticky sentimentality just now. But Mr. Weicker has never been most people, and in these closing days of his administration, he shows no signs of looking back with even the remotest trace of gauzy haze.

Even posing the question of whether, at 63, he feels nostalgic about his three decades in public life is to invite a typical Weicker jermiad. Not only does he feel no nostalgia in himself, he thinks no one else should, either. It's a societal flaw.

"I hate nostalgia with a passion," he said. "This country is sufficed with it right now — that's one of our problems — God almighty, we just sit there and wallow in the good old days, which, quite frankly, weren't necessarily so good for too many people."

Mr. Weicker, who chose not to run for a second term, spent 18 years in the U.S. Senate as a Republican who liked to fight with Republicans (especially those in the Nixon administration during the Watergate era) and four tumultuous years as Connecticut's first independent third-party governor in a century, battling both parties for his own agenda.

And he apparently has enough bile left for several careers to come. Without actually saying that he will run for president as a third-party independent in 1996, or that he even wants to, he has kept the door wide open for a draft.

(Kirk Johnson, NYT)

Whispers: Gephardt in '96?

WASHINGTON — In the latest manifestation of unease among Democrats, some are quietly talking up the presidential prospects of a man who lost his party's nomination in

1988 and is about to become leader of the most discredited group of politicians in town these days: House Democrats.

He is Richard A. Gephardt, a congressman from St. Louis, Missouri, who was elected by his colleagues to be the House minority leader in the next Congress.

While no prominent Democrat is publicly making the case for Mr. Gephardt, he is the subject of a behind-the-scenes chatter on Capitol Hill among Democrats who fear that President Bill Clinton's popularity will not rebound and believe that Mr. Gephardt would be a logical alternative should the president decide not to seek re-election — whether by his own choice or because he is forced into early retirement.

This is the thinking of the Gephardt partisans: Having run for president, Mr. Gephardt is far better known and will get more attention than Thomas A. Daschle of South Dakota, who will be the Senate minority leader next month.

Moreover, they say, Mr. Gephardt will become only more visible as the foil to the new House speaker, Representative Newt Gingrich, Republican of Georgia.

And Mr. Gephardt has long been popular among working-class Democrats, a constituency that Mr. Clinton seems to have lost. While some Democrats suggest that Vice President Al Gore would be the likely alternative should the president falter, others, like Representative Thomas J. Manton, Democrat of New York, are not so sure.

"I don't know if some of the animosity toward Clinton has rubbed off on him," Mr. Manton said of Mr. Gore. But Mr. Manton, like most of Mr. Gephardt's allies, said he fully expected Mr. Clinton to get his party's nomination in 1996.

(Richard L. Berke, NYT)

Quote/Unquote

Sherry Behitch-Jeffe, a political scientist at Claremont College who specializes in California elections, on the voting that has left the State Assembly tied in partisan "knots": "It's the election that won't die. A lot of voters and politicians still have some anger and frustration left, and it looks like they're intent on venting it." (NYT)

Big Donors Catch Republican Train

By Michael Weisskopf
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Many corporate donors who misjudged last month's election prospects and put money on Democratic incumbents have found a way to show appreciation for victorious Republicans — paying off their campaign debts.

In political vernacular, it is called "catching the late train." Three health care interests — Pfizer Inc., Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association and the American Hospital Association — were hosts to a breakfast here recently for Fred D. Thompson, a Republican Senate winner from Tennessee, even though some of their executives had helped fund the campaign of his Democratic rival, Representative James Cooper.

Twenty lobbyists representing groups from orthopedists to

medical product distributors paid \$1,000 each to attend.

The political action committee (PAC) for Prudential Insurance Co. of America declined to finance Representative Rick Santorum, Republican of Pennsylvania, as a Senate candidate because the father of his rival, Senator Harris Wofford, was a company agent. As senator-elect, Mr. Santorum had no trouble landing \$1,000 in post-election funds from the Prudential PAC.

"When you back the wrong horses, you try to make a contribution as a token of goodwill," said John McKechnie, political director of the Credit Union National Association, who had anticipated the rout of the Democrats. Before the election, he directed his state officials to prepare to help retire debts of winners the group had shunned earlier.

MODERATES: With the Speaker

Continued from Page 1

Jersey Republican. The departing House speaker, Thomas S. Foley, a Washington Democrat, suggested Sunday that both Republican euphoria and unity would vanish soon enough once the party has to govern, and translate a conservative agenda into policies the public will approve.

Still, moderate Republicans appear to believe that their conservative brethren are legislators who, by and large, they can work with.

"On some key issues, there'll be moderate Republicans joining with Democrats; those sev-

en or eight in the Senate will hold the balance of power on a lot of issues," said Senator William S. Cohen, one of the two moderates from Maine. Olympia J. Snowe, who until November was a moderate Republican in the House, is the other.

But even in the Senate, Mr. Cohen said, "Republicans will try to see where they are among themselves before they start reaching across the aisle."

It is a stark contrast to the dying Democratic majority, whose left and right wings were so alienated on even the most basic issues, like federal spending and crime, that they often seemed attached to different political birds.

Only Democrats can explain their disintegration. The incentives for Republican moderates to stick with the party line, on the other hand, are clear and strong.

One, as Mr. Boehlert points out, is ideology. Moderates and conservatives may differ on social issues, but they are united on the driving issue in Republican philosophy: money.

"Most of us who have always called ourselves moderates have hardly ever called ourselves fiscal liberals," said Senator Robert Packwood, the Oregon Republican who will head the Finance Committee.

"We don't really look at it as an eraser on the pencil, but as a way of letting the winner know we'd like to be the same friend to him as we were to the guy he defeated," Mr. McKechnie said.

If spoils belong to the victors, campaign debts usually fall to the victors' most devoted supporters. But the Republican romp is crushing convention everywhere.

With so many corporate PACs betting Democratic in the year of the Republican Party, and so many successful challenges left with big bills, the Republicans are banking on the self-interest of those groups to help clear their ledgers.

Never far from the surface, the hint of political reward for contributions was made more explicit in the campaign when Representative Newt Gingrich, Republican of Georgia, the House speaker-to-be, reportedly warned PAC representatives in October that if he took power, donors who were "not on board" would suffer "the two coldest years in Washington."

Later publication of the "PAC List of Shame," naming firms, lobbyists and trade groups whose PACs gave overwhelmingly to Democrats in 1992, sharpened the threat. A Republican fund-raiser, Brad O'Leary, compiled the list in a newsletter and sent it to PACs and Republican lawmakers.

Mr. Osborne, who shot to fame in 1956 with "Look Back in Anger," a blast against the stuffy conventions of English postwar life, died in a hospital near his home in Shropshire, a spokeswoman said.

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Mr. Osborne, a diabetic known for his hard drinking, had been seriously ill for more than a week, she said.

With "Look Back in Anger," Mr. Osborne introduced the genre of the "kitchen-sink drama," then a revolutionary style

In the newsletter, Mr. Gingrich was praised for "laying down the law with certain PAC executives who have been condescending with the enemy."

Now they are fair game for Republicans. Dan Morgan, a fund-raising consultant trying to retire the debt of eight new Republican House members, has scammed campaign finance reports of his candidates' rivals, he said, looking for PACs that might "want to get in good or at least establish a relationship" with the Republican winners.

"A lot of PACs are saying, 'Whoops, we made a mistake,' and they're trying to redeem themselves," he said.

Most of the solicitations across party lines gloss over past differences and point to future cooperation. The National Association of Retail Druggists PAC, for example, had given 88 percent of its \$122,000 to Democrats as of June. But since the election, it has received requests to help defray debts of 15 Republicans, including four Senate winners.

"The pitch is, 'Hey, you were on the wrong side of our race, here's your chance to get right,'" said John M. Rector, who lobbies and disburses election funds for the pharmacists' group. "Or, 'If you didn't participate in the campaign, here's your opportunity to get on one you should be on.'"

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Away From Politics

● A mild earthquake shook parts of Colorado on Christmas Day, bours after a quake struck the high desert near Death Valley, California. No injuries or major damage was reported in the quakes. (NYT)

● Lolo Bello, an unarmed man who tried to climb the north fence of the White House on Christmas Day, has been charged with unlawful entry and making threats to arresting officers, a Secret Service spokesman said. (Reuters)

● Amtrak began its routine run from the San Francisco Bay area to Chicago about five hours late after three cars on an empty train derailed near Emeryville, an Amtrak spokesman said. No one was injured. (AP)

● The archdiocese of Milwaukee is suing 14 insurance companies that have refused to make payments in nine cases alleging sexual misconduct by priests. The insurance companies counter that the church hierarchy knew of the sexual misconduct and failed to take appropriate action. That means the misconduct was intentional on the part of the diocese and not insured, they argue. (AP)

● Pierre Dreyfus, who led Renault for 20 years, at 87. PARIS (Reuters) — Pierre Dreyfus, 87, head of the French car group Renault from 1955 to 1975 and a pioneer of better working conditions in postwar France, died Sunday, the company said.

Mr. Dreyfus oversaw the launchings of some of Europe's best-selling cars, including the distinctive Renault 4, 5 and 16 models.

Renault was the first French company to offer three weeks of paid vacation, in 1955, and then four weeks in 1962.

Mr. Dreyfus served briefly as industry minister in Pierre Mauroy's Socialist government of 1981-84.

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Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

To Add Jobs in Europe

The way things look, 1995 will be a year of economic disillusionment for Europe. If that sounds surprising, consider the painful explanation. The coming year promises to be one of splendid economic growth in most of Western and Central Europe. Yet this growth will turn out to do very little for Europe's chief economic problem, which is its dangerously long lines of joblessness, and behind this failure lurks Europe's reluctance to get to grips with the causes of the joblessness problem.

That boom is back is now beyond much doubt. The economies of Continental Europe, following the earlier British recovery, have done better in 1994 than the forecasters had expected, and will almost certainly do even better in 1995 and 1996. Germany and France, in particular, have bounced back from stagnation or worse to predicted growth rates of 3 percent or better in the next couple of years.

Grand news, if you are in work and can ride on the boom. The trouble is that this boom will probably not do what booms were once supposed to do — bring the jobless back into jobs. Today's unemployment in Europe, unlike unemployment in America and Japan, is to a large extent not cyclical, going up and down with the health of the economy in general. It is "structural," the jargon word which means that it is apparently here to stay.

At the moment, 11.6 percent of Western Europe's workers have no work to do, double America's proportion and nearly four times Japan's. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development reckons that by the end of 1996, even with the full benefit of the emerging boom, Europe's figure will have barely fallen, to about 11 percent. By the century's end, the OECD thinks, it will still be knocking at the 10 percent mark. It cannot fall much below that, runs the dismaying argument, without setting off another attack of inflation.

The causes of this are pretty clear. Yet Europe is still failing to tackle them.

One is the fact that Europe's governments absorb too much of what their countries produce. This year, the revenues of the European Union's governments will amount to 46 percent of their countries' GDP. The figure in America is 32 percent. Some of the purposes for which this money is spent are commendable; it pays, among other things, for the comforts of Europe's welfare state. But one thing government money is not good at is creating jobs. If those governments eased their grip, the lines of worklessness would probably shorten.

The other cause of excessive joblessness is the artificial condition of Continental Europe's labor markets. (Britain — here, too, more American than European — is far less rigid.) In much of Western Europe, the law protects people in jobs by limiting the number of hours they must work, requiring them to be paid a generous minimum wage and making it hard to fire them. The motive is humane and the results are reassuring — for those in jobs. But the other effect (apart from making Europe's products costlier than those of most of Europe's competitors) is to shut the door on the unemployed.

If minimum wages and working hours were made more flexible, and if the labor market were supplied, many of the jobless could be brought back inside the working economy. Some of those already in jobs, it is true, would find things tougher.

These are harsh calculations, but the cost of ignoring them could be harsher. It could be the creation of a European underclass. A disproportionate number of the long-term unemployed are young people, quick to anger and strong of arm. The luckier nine-tenths of Europe ought not wait until the buried tenth breaks out of the dregs.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE.

Warlords in Liberia

Five years ago, the Liberian guerrilla leader Charles Taylor unleashed a civil war that was to end up ripping his country to shreds. Since Mr. Taylor and his rebel force launched their invasion from neighboring Ivory Coast, some 150,000 Liberians, mostly civilians, have lost their lives. Another million have been displaced from their homes. Hundreds of thousands more have been forced to flee to other countries. Last week, on the eve of another Christmas, Charles Taylor and representatives of the other warring factions announced a cease-fire agreement to start on Dec. 28. Liberians, for understandable reasons, were not impressed with this Christmas gift. Almost a dozen previous peace accords have failed.

The latest round of talks, which took place in Ghana, has all the markings of earlier abortive efforts. The combatants have temporarily ceased taking shots at each other long enough to issue solemn pledges to resolve their prolonged conflict through an agreement calling for peace, safe areas, demobilization, disarmament and democratic elections. People of that blood-soaked nation have heard it all many times before, only to end up covering under the gunfire that always eventually follows. Their skepticism that there will be no end to the killing this time around is well founded.

For reasons having little to do with the integrity or honor of Charles Taylor and his crowd, however, there is a small glimmer of hope that the warlords may have to make it work this time.

Liberia has used up its credit with the rest of the world. West African leaders have seen years of peacekeeping efforts go down the drain. Many of them are cash-strapped themselves, and regional forces intervened in the Liberian civil war to an extent that took them well beyond their own political and financial limits. African leaders have had it with Liberia's broken promises. So has the United Nations, which has run out of the only asset it brings to the table — patience. America, once Liberia's Cold War banker, has the spigot turned down to a trickle, in part because of competing claims on the limited foreign aid dollar, in part because it doesn't want to pump money into an accord that is not worth the paper it is written on. And that was the U.S. inclination before the November elections.

With an inward-looking U.S. Congress taking office next month, Liberian warlords, having reduced their country to the state of nature, can expect little more than grief from America. This time, the deal-breakers may have little choice but to take on the mantle of peacemakers.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

Free Speech in the Malls

New Jersey's Supreme Court has ruled that a large commercial shopping mall is the modern counterpart of the village green. It is a place where people can congregate and communicate, the court suggested last week, and therefore the mall's operators must honor some right of free speech on their nominally private property. The ruling, based on the state constitution, is correct.

Though denounced as "social engineering" by a losing lawyer, the decision merely recognizes modern reality. Like a company town where the company sets the rules, commercial enclaves are in effect small governments; they must allow reasonable communicative acts by customers and visitors, while retaining the right to set fair terms that govern when and where the right of speech may be exercised.

The court said that people trying to pass out leaflets against the Gulf War three years ago were entitled to some access to the mall's open spaces. But it also left room for regulations to protect store owners from conduct that could drive away customers. In so ruling, the court made it clear that the malls were not fair game for, say, big parades or loud demonstrations. Chief Justice Robert Wilentz and his court have often been tagged as judicial activists — legal adventurers who believe that the courts have as much license to attack so-

cial ills as the political process. But here, far from legislating from the bench, the court made a commonplace observation about the way people shop, hang out and use suburban and urban spaces.

What it said is not new or startling. The U.S. Supreme Court has wrestled with the question for a quarter-century. It ultimately found that no federal constitutional right was involved, but it specifically noted that state courts, interpreting their own constitutions, might well rule differently. Courts in California, Oregon, Massachusetts, Colorado and Washington have construed their state constitutions as guaranteeing some free speech rights in shopping centers. New York's highest court, disappointingly, rejected that approach in a 1985 case, saying mall owners had invited the public only for a limited commercial purpose and need not indulge noncommercial activity.

But as the New Jersey court more clearly perceives, the mall owners hope to lure paying customers by inviting people to mill about and enjoy themselves. Or even to do nothing at all.

These cases are not about socializing private, commercial property. Rather they involve the reaffirmation of the right of peaceful, orderly free expression. New Jersey's highest court has done its job well.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

End of the Parties as You've Known Them

By William Pfaff

PARIS — Nineteen ninety-four saw the end of the American political parties as we have known them since the 1930s, and in the case of the Democratic Party since the election of 1800, when an alliance of Southern agrarians and Northern city-dwellers made Thomas Jefferson president.

That coalition of interests survived to elect John Kennedy in 1960, but it is now dead. The uneasy alliance in the Republican Party between Eastern internationalist banking and trading interests and the suburban and small-town middle class is also finished. Liberal Republicanism has ceased to exist.

What comes next? There has to be a major political regrouping. The continuing — indeed, strengthening — phenomenon of anti-party and anti-political populism is another proof of that.

The people who support Ross Perot, the radical-right talk show audience and the majority who do not vote at all in national elections will either be assimilated into one of the existing parties, changing its character, or will back some new movement (or movements) to challenge the old parties. The Democratic Party in particular is ready for replacement.

It has been wounded and groggy since the 1960s. Lyndon Johnson was the last leader of the old coalition of conservative white Southerners (in a still segregated South) with Western populists, Northern industrial workers and middle-class liberals. Franklin Roosevelt had reenergized the old Jeffersonian coalition in 1932, when the South and West were poor, the unions growing and the Republicans blamed for the crash and the Depression.

His vice president, Harry Truman (something of a populist himself), won in 1948 despite the defection of part of the South to the "Dixiecrats" and of some liberals to Henry Wallace's Progressive Party. John Kennedy, with a little help from his father's money and a lot of help from Lyndon Johnson, put the coalition together one more time in 1960.

But with the catastrophe of Vietnam the liberals deserted President Johnson, leaving him with the war they had created. The foreign policy directorate he inherited from President Kennedy bailed out, one by one, awarding one another the Ford Foundation, World Bank, Council on Foreign Relations etc., leaving Mr. Johnson to face the crowds chanting "How many kids did you kill today, LBJ?"

The Democratic Party afterward fell into that schism which ever since has pitted social and racial interest groups and activists against "New Democrats" trying to write a new platform with national appeal. The party's two successes — the elections of Jimmy Carter in 1976 and of Bill Clinton — occurred only because of Watergate and the willingness in 1992 of voters to blame hard times on the Bush administration.

Today the South is rich and largely Republican. Political correctness has discredited liberalism, so far as the mass of Americans is concerned. The unions have been smashed by Reagan administration legislation and by free trade. The elements in the old Democratic coalition are gone.

On the Republican side, the tenuous coalition of Eastern internationalist finance and in-

dustrial with conservative isolationism has ended in a rout of the internationalists.

The coalition first split in 1912, when the progressive and imperialist Theodore Roosevelt ran for a second presidential term as a Bull Moose, and Robert La Follette's Republican reformers backed him.

The isolationists were in control from the world war to 1941, but the internationalists dictated the party's presidential choices from 1940 to 1952. Wendell Willkie, Thomas Dewey and Dwight Eisenhower were all from the progressive wing of the party.

Even Richard Nixon was launched as a presidential candidate by his service under President Eisenhower, and although he disliked, distrusted and undermined the party's liberal wing, he was an internationalist president.

George Bush was the last of

the liberal Republicans, and even he did his unconvincing best to pass as a Texan.

The party today is firmly in the control of what before was its right wing, and this, now, is increasingly a radicalized libertarian right, influenced by doctrines of radical individualism that would have appalled Robert Taft's generation of Republican conservatives.

In foreign policy it combines belligerent and moralizing interventionist rhetoric with a fundamentalist isolationism.

The public, always more conservative than in most countries, has turned right — sometimes to an anarchic or even insurrectionist right — following its loss in economic security and decline in economic expectations during recent years. In the past such factors would have more likely caused voters to turn left.

The Republicans' success in

November is vulnerable, as the Republicans themselves admit. Bill Clinton had two years to remake the Democratic identity and failed. The electorate has now put the Republicans on two-year trial. Two years aren't much time. If the Republicans cannot square the contradictions in the promises that Newt Gingrich made to voters in September, they will be out in 1996.

We are still far from any permanent recombination of the electoral forces at work in the country. We can say only that the old combinations are finished. America's political parties in the new century will be new parties, whatever names they bear. They may not even be parties, in today's sense. The trend even now is toward a politics hinged on personality, not principle or program — where principle and program may even be handicaps.

International Herald Tribune.
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Fed Up With the American Presidency

By Edwin M. Yoder Jr.

WASHINGTON — In Washington, every shipwreck is blamed on political error. This is the conventional wisdom about the shipwreck Bill Clinton suffered on Nov. 8.

The pundits kept telling him so. Robert Samuelson, the Newsweek columnist, calls him "the moribund of liberalism." My colleague David Broder summons him to "define and defend the sacred ground of the Democratic Party."

This advice is unfortunate, indeed calamitous. It reinforces Mr. Clinton's misguided conception of presidential leadership — the conception that got him so frequently caricatured in the 1992 campaign as a "policy wonk."

His recent recovery speech, while mercifully brief, was policy wonkism at its worst, echoing, on a modest scale, his Byzantine health care reform package. So have been a train of postelection gestures, proposals and concessions — on school prayer, fetal tissue experimentation, military spending, the role of the surgeon general, grazing fees on public lands in the West. All are responses to the illusion that the erosion of the president's standing is rooted in policy.

Mr. Clinton's fade-out seems to continue a recent trend in presidential fragility that afflicted Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter and George Bush.

The symptom is individualized, as each presi-

dent in turn is framed in the public mind in some symbolic image. Mr. Ford's was physical clumsiness, with the sly implication that he was out of his depth. Mr. Carter's was whimsiness, epitomized in the ludicrous tale of a confrontation, on a Georgia fishing pond, with a "killer rabbit." Mr. Bush's was a breezy, telegraphic preppy-speak intimating peevishness and, beyond that, a privileged remoteness from the struggles of ordinary people.

Much of this was nonsense. What matters is not the accuracy of the caricature but its acceptance as a defining metaphor. Ronald Reagan alone escaped the trap, for reasons still not altogether clear. His consummate use of the double-edged weapon of television was surely among them.

The crisis of political authority afflicts all the major democracies, as the fates of Brian Mulroney in Canada, François Mitterrand in France, the usual host of Italian prime ministers and even Margaret Thatcher in Britain suggest. Mr. Clinton's detractors cater to a widespread cynicism about all authority that is not unique to Washington.

The immediate question for Mr. Clinton is whether the erosion of his authority, whatever its source, is reversible. The tax-cutting speech, billed as a major effort at recovery amplifies the deadly impression that he is a wanderer of no fixed views who looks outside himself for clues to popular whims and rushes to adjust himself to them.

Washington Post Writers Group.

Don't Expect a Big Third Party Soon

By Hobart Rowen

WASHINGTON — Former Senator Paul Tsongas, candidate in 1992 for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination, says results of the November elections expose the need for a third party: a centrist coalition that would be like the Republicans on economic affairs and like the Democrats on human and social issues.

There is a simplistic logic to this urge to get something new started. A poll by Peter Hart shows that 27 percent of those questioned are negative or neutral to both parties.

In 1992, Ross Perot, running for president as an independent, got 19 percent of the vote. Many think that if he did not have personality problems he would have done even better.

In a long memorandum entitled "A Different Road?" Mr. Tsongas concludes that both the Democrats and the Republicans "have allowed a vacuum to be created that neither seems capable of filling." This is a result, he said, of "tunefest" among the electorate about the harsh social values of the Republicans, coupled with fear that the Democrats are fiscally irresponsible.

In a telephone interview, he said his hope when he wrote the

memo was to "move the Democrats in this direction." But he acknowledged, that after President Bill Clinton's speech two weeks ago imitating the Republicans' penchant for a middle-class tax cut, he has abandoned hope that Mr. Clinton could lead a centrist coalition.

Mr. Tsongas said he believes that if neither major party has moved into the vacuum he describes by this time next year, pressures will emerge for Colin Powell or someone like him to adopt a policy agenda based on fiscal conservatism and social liberalism. He has sent Mr. Powell a copy of his memorandum, but says he has no idea of his reaction to it. He admits that after Mr. Powell, "there's a big drop" in the quality and attractiveness of potential new leaders for his centrist party.

Al From, president of the Democratic Leadership Council, an organization of conservative Democrats, dismisses the Tsongas plan as "top-down apoplexy." In an interview, he said that while he agrees with Mr. Tsongas that neither of the two main parties now occupies the

desirable centrist turf, he disagrees that a new party can be set up, dependent on a popular figure to pull it along.

A true reform movement, Mr. From said, must "bubble up" from the many new reforms successfully being followed by Republican and Democratic mayors and governors. He mentioned Republican Governor Tommy G. Thompson of Wisconsin and Democratic Governors Roy Romer of Colorado and Lawton Chiles of Florida.

He cited as an example of the changes under way the Charter School Movement in 11 states in which parents take responsibility for running the public school systems on an efficient basis.

"Whichever party absorbs on a national level the reforms that many mayors and governors have been making at the local level has the best chance to emerge as the dominant party," Mr. From said.

But there are as yet few signs of "bubbling up" activity, just as there seem to be few persons eager to board the Tsongas train. It may take well beyond 1996 to determine whether the country is ready for a viable third party.

The Washington Post.

And Then What Happened, Say, to the Vietnamese?

By Jim Hoagland

NEW YORK — And then what happened? The art of story telling — of history or of journalism, for that matter — turns on that one question. Stories die if an audience does not urge on the teller with its informed curiosity.

That is of no great consequence when only stories are at stake. But what happens when Americans as a nation no longer ask that driving question — and then what happened? — about the lives and fortunes of people who because of America's actions and words believed that their fate was central to America's own destiny?

This forgetting to ask occurred in the case of South Vietnam, a country and a cause that absorbed America's attention and national treasure and inflamed U.S. politics for a decade. Since it disappeared in April 1975, South Vietnam and the people who lived there have been the subject of remarkably few authoritative accounts that say what happened after America left.

An important new book arrives to tell one person's view of what did happen after Hanoi's victory over Saigon. Entitled "South Wind Changing," by Jade Ngoc Quang Huynh, the book is perceptively reviewed in the current issue of The New York Review of Books by journalist Philip Gourevitch.

Mr. Huynh grew up in the Mekong River Delta during the American war in Vietnam. When Americans left and averted their gaze, he endured and then escaped from Hanoi's brutal re-education camps. He made his way as a boat person to America, where he has now produced a nonideological,

insightful contribution to the "literature of witness": first-person accounts of survivors of Nazi concentration camps, Soviet gulags, Serbian ethnic cleansing and other man-made ills.

This is how Mr. Gourevitch nails the point that "South Wind Changing" is not only an important historical document but also an implicit commentary on the risks that small nations, or peoples, run in committing their fate to a global superpower.

Huynh's account of torture and murder in the re-education camps "may seem familiar to readers in the late 20th century. But while such scenes have been played and replayed in country after country, to date relatively little has been published in America about the postwar terror which destroyed the lives of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, and which produced over a million refugees. America's obsession with Vietnam has been largely a matter of self-regard."

In American writing and analysis, Mr. Gourevitch continues, "the Vietnamese have appeared, whether as victims or villains, primarily as bit players in an American tragedy."

Arguments about Vietnam became arguments about America. They were more about what Americans thought of each other and their own politics than what they thought about the Vietnamese. The proof is that those arguments have gone on in a monumental act of egotism without the Vietnamese, who disappeared behind the Bamboo Curtain.

Arguing about who was to blame became more important than learning what had happened to the Vietnamese we had promised to protect. Mr. Huynh records: "Torture was happening everywhere in the labor camps around the country, but people did not seem to know or care, especially the people who negotiated this kind of 'peace for Vietnam.'"

This book could be seen as nothing more than a depressing reminder of a painful past national trauma, arriving inopportunistically as America moves toward normalizing relations with Vietnam to open up new markets and tourist destinations. "South Wind Changing" is in fact an important contemporary call on Americans not to forget the past even as circumstances move them into the future. Normalization may be useful; amnesia about what Vietnam became, to justify normalization, would be shameful.

The act of forgetting to ask what happened next is not confined to Vietnam. After a burst of publicity last summer, there is surprisingly little attention paid by the American public to the fate of some 30,000 Cuban refugees and 14,000 Haitians still being held in American camps in Guantanamo Bay and Panama.

The Cubans, who would have once been welcomed as refugees, live in a limbo created by the sudden change of asylum policy by the Clinton administration. The limbo and the conditions in the Cuban camps have sparked riots in which 250 people, mostly U.S. troops, have been injured.

The fall of global communism and the rise of anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States make these Cuban refugees politically inconvenient, whereas only a few years ago they were politically useful for Cold Warriors. The American public and its political representatives should care deeply about what happens next to these people. Mercy and justice would seem to dictate that they be allowed to begin new lives in the United States. At the least, they should be remembered in this holiday season.

The Washington Post.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1894: Alexander's Tomb

PARIS — The *Gaulois* hints at a discovery which is likely to cause a considerable sensation in the archaeological world. It would appear that a number of enthusiastic antiquaries are firmly convinced that the tomb of Alexander the Great is concealed in the crypt of the Daniel Mosque at Alexandria, but that their attempts at investigation have been hitherto frustrated by the fanaticism and jealousy of the Moslem clergy. Now an appeal has been made to the Khedive and it is hoped that he will authorize the necessary researches.

1919: Soviets in Siberia

PARIS — Soviet Russia is well on the way to the conquest of Siberia, while the Allies are glibly talking about the barbed wire fence to be formed by the border States. But

Civilized Also Means Governed

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON — Not only Republican voters believe that government in America has become too expensive, too costly and too intrusive. Whoever wins elections, the years ahead are going to be a time of limits on what governments try to do.

But it is a different thing to believe that government is evil. To hear Newt Gingrich and his followers, the federal government should do little but maintain the national defense and pay out such middle-class entitlements as Social Security and Medicare. Everything else should be left to individual initiative.

In a world as complex as ours, and as interconnected, even the strongest individual necessarily relies on all kinds of government actions. There is a real danger that by enfeebling government Americans will make the United States a less competitive country, and a less civilized one.

Adam Smith, the great advocate of market economies, nevertheless wrote that they needed government to educate the labor force, assure economic infrastructure and maintain public safety. Nothing that view in the current issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*, Chalmers Johnson observes that governments perform those functions less well in America than in some of its competitors.

Consider transportation, a crucial part of any society's infrastructure. Japan has bullet trains. Europe has trans-European express trains from the Mediterranean to the North Sea. America has struggling Amtrak. The rationale for starving Amtrak is that subsidies are bad — that passenger trains must make their competitive way in the market. But that is carrying theory over the edge. Or there is aviation safety. After a series of crashes of commuter planes, it was learned that they did not have to meet the same federal safety standards as larger aircraft. Do people want to let the marketplace determine how safe planes should be?

There is a safety question about medical drugs, too. Some voices on the right are calling for elimination or severe restriction of the Food and Drug Administration, arguing that new drugs would get on the market more quickly if they did not have to go through extensive trials and approval by the FDA first.

That was the situation in Britain — no effective constraints on new drugs — when thalidomide went on the market as a tranquilizer in the 1960s. Pregnant women who used it gave birth to terribly deformed children.

Safety and physical infrastructure are not the only necessary concerns of government in a market economy. Adam Smith listed education. Today he would surely add to that the encouragement of scientific research. Yet funds for university research are another target of budget-cutters.

There are other elements of a good society that individuals alone cannot provide — that depend on "the power of a community." Sigmond Freud used that phrase 60 years ago. Trying to define what makes for civilization, he spoke of technological accomplishment, beauty, order and respect for ideas. But the decisive civilizing step, he wrote, was the replacement of individual force by the power of the community.

Some civilizing elements of life are under particular threat in America. An example is public libraries, a peculiarly American way to self-improvement, to enlargement of the mind and spirit.

Public television and radio will get no federal funds if Mr. Gingrich has his way. At one stroke, he would endanger the only meaningful scientific programs and documentaries on American television and by far the most serious news on radio and television. So this large, rich country would have nothing like what modest Britain has in the BBC.

Rugged individualism is part of the American creed. But another part, vital since the beginning, has been the power of the community to improve people's lives.

The New York Times.

International Herald Tribune

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OPINION

JFK's Secret Recordings: More Careful, No Less Evil

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — "I want you to be careful about your property," President John F. Kennedy told Dave Powers, a confidant, in the Oval Office one day in 1962, "because I don't want to hear your bad words coming back at me."

That puzzled Mr. Powers. According to a JFK Library oral historian, he then went to Kenneth O'Donnell, JFK's most intimate political aide, and said, "Kenny, what the hell is he talking about?" Mr. O'Donnell replied, "Well, he's got this taping system installed in there."

That nugget about the first systematic invasion of privacy by a U.S. president came up in research I did

Service." Mr. Landis was the Kennedy family lawyer in trouble with the Internal Revenue Service; maybe the presidential intervention can be explained, although the call looks fishy on its face.

The index shows that Mr. Kennedy taped calls to former Presidents Truman and Eisenhower, who had not pulled that trick on their predecessors. JFK felt the need to record a gallbladder discussion with future President Lyndon Johnson, who followed the Kennedy precedent of secret taping.

Mr. Kennedy taped Ted Sorensen about a speech and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., his unsuspecting historian, about the Profumo scandal. He recorded an aide to Robert Kennedy, Jack Rosenthal, about a death in Mississippi; the lawyer Clark Clifford about an impending Washington Post article; Senator George Smathers about press criticism of JFK; and Senator Russell Long about 1964 election prospects.

Kennedy himself selected the occasions for taping.

last week after the release of tape recordings by the Kennedy Library regarding the Cuban missile crisis.

In those JFK-serving tapes, two Democratic senators — Richard Russell of Georgia and J. William Fulbright of Arkansas — were shown to be hawks urging an all-out invasion of Cuba. They were unaware that Mr. Kennedy had pressed a button under the cabinet table activating microphones in wall sconces behind his chair.

In a room beneath the Oval Office, a tape machine — installed at Mr. Kennedy's direct request by Secret Service agent Robert I. Bouck — secretly recorded scores of such meetings. Mr. Kennedy was so pleased with the notion of being the only one in a meeting aware of being recorded that he extended the taping, begun in the summer of 1962, to telephone conversations. He touched a button that signaled his secretary, Evelyn Lincoln, to record on a Dictabelt the calls he selected.

The first telephone caller so taped was his wife, Jacqueline. This tape was later removed from the files, along with four numbered audiotapes of official meetings that Kennedy family members and their lawyers presumably felt showed embarrassing or illegal actions.

In the "finding aid," a Library historian writes: "That at least some items were removed cannot be doubted." What's still there? Plenty — 248 hours of meetings and 12 hours of telephone conversations. One of the tapes not yet made public is a call made by JFK to the Justice Department's Nicholas Katzenbach on July 25, 1963. The topic: "James M. Landis and the Internal Revenue

Hundreds of people who spoke to the president with the reasonable expectation of privacy were betrayed. And a nation that was dismayed and infuriated at the revelation of the Nixon taping system in 1973 can see today where that sleazy business began in earnest: in 1962, at the personal direction of John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

My purpose here is not to exorcise Richard Nixon with the "everybody did it" excuse, because not every president in the tape era did it; apparently Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower resisted the temptation. And Mr. Kennedy did it the careful way, selecting the occasions himself and — with a handful of exceptions, since expurgated — speaking in the knowledge that he was playing to history, unlike Mr. Nixon, who let a voice-activated system record his profanities, slurs and abuse of power.

The purpose of my late-hitting harangue is to underscore the evil of electronic eavesdropping. The 260 hours of the Kennedy tapes are a reminder that Americans need new laws to protect them from ever more sophisticated intrusions on their privacy.

Mr. Kennedy's precedent-setting actions were rooted in mistrust of loyal colleagues and the absence of an ethical compass. He probably rationalized this systematic wrong as being "for history." But it backfired; his secret taping impugns his character far more than any peccadillo. Life is not always unfair.

The New York Times



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Civilians Under Fire

According to the international press, Russian military aircraft have bombed residential areas in Grozny, the capital of Chechnya. There have been reports of casualties among civilian combatants. Refugees International condemns the use of military force against civilian targets.

Both sides should cease fire and seek a negotiated settlement. Russia should respond rapidly and effectively to the humanitarian needs of the people of Chechnya. The international community should be prepared to assist in reducing the scale of violence and in providing humanitarian relief to persons displaced or affected by the fighting.

LIONEL A. ROSENBLATT,
President,
Refugees International,
Washington.

Sleds, Reindeer and a Road

I read with great interest Michael Specter's article on the archeologists who "came upon" the Nenets reindeer herders last summer in Siberia ("Arctic Tribe in Russia May Be Key to Migration Mystery," *Features*, Nov. 29). I am an ecologist and biogeographer and have been studying industrial impact on the vegetation and soils of the Yamal Peninsula since 1991. The article says that the Nenets "five-year-round in reindeer-skin tepees," yet the photo shows

them in front of their winter camp, which looks like a typical house in Salekhard. Later, the summer camp is described as having "no modes of transportation other than sleds, which are of little use in the summer."

During my two visits, I have observed the more permanent winter settlements near the tree line, but also spent time in summer camps far to the north. The sleds are indeed used during the summer. One look at the design shows that it is an efficient sled. The main body is raised some 30 to 35 centimeters above the runners. This facilitates movement over the summer tundra, which is often dominated by willow shrubs averaging the same height. Heavier sleds require up to four reindeer to pull. Lighter sleds, one or two. The group of four Nenets families I was with in 1991 moved once every 24 hours in July in an apparently vain effort to keep their 2,000-odd animals from overgrazing the tundra.

Many of the sleds in camp remained partially or fully loaded during our stay. The chimneys (teepee-like shelters) were easily broken down and packed into sleds in minutes. However, this accelerated pace of nomadism cannot compensate for the fact that the herds are too large and have been so for decades. A family of four consumes about 25 reindeer a year. Nomadism will be a liability when the road-railway-pipeline corridor now under construction is completed and dissects

the peninsula from south to north.

In 1993, a Russian ethnologist and I interviewed a Nenets leader about ecological change along the new road and railway line. He rattled off a litany of complaints regarding unforeseen impacts — such as wind-blown dust that is ruining the annual cloudberry crop up to 1 kilometer downwind from the road. The road has another 350 kilometers to go before it reaches Bovanenok. The railway will follow the road, and then a set of five gas pipelines will follow the rail. I have grave doubts that Amoco can "do its work without further disturbances of ... grazing grounds." There is much evidence to the contrary.

BRUCE C. FORBES,
Rovaniemi, Finland.

Reasons for a Defeat

Regarding "Partners Have to Take Americans' Choler Seriously" (*Opinion*, Nov. 18) by Flora Lewis:

The article gives the impression that the Clinton administration has been "punished" for its multinationalism in foreign policy. The defeat should rather be ascribed to American domestic issues and personalities. The prospect of Senator Jesse Helms as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee does not augur well for the future of U.S. multinationalism.

CARLO TREZZA,
Rome.

Write Checks to Yourself And Come Out Ahead

By David Silverstein

WASHINGTON — About six months ago I received three cash-advance checks in the mail from a bank that wanted to issue me a credit card. These are blank checks that I could make out to whom I chose, to be drawn against a credit card account that this bank hoped I would open with it.

I almost threw the checks away without reading the accompanying letter, because I knew that cash advances usually carry hefty user fees

ing the bonus — I earned \$115 in "cash rewards."

But it wasn't enough. Since I had been using a MasterCard, I called and asked for Visa as well. Within two weeks a Visa card arrived in the mail along with three cash-advance checks and a new \$7,500 balance.

This is, I assure you, perfectly legal. It is just one sideshow in the grand carnival of promotion that is the credit card business.

In their fervor to shove more plastic into our pockets, the debt industry (sometimes more politely referred to as "financial services providers") now offers cards with low interest rates, cards that come with free frequent-flyer miles, cards that give discounts on gas or luggage, even cards that accumulate "points" that can be applied to the purchase of a new car. And, of course, there are cards that come with cash-advance checks, and cash "rewards" for using them.

The marketing people aren't complete fools. I am sure they know that some people will figure out they can do what I did; but we are few, in a huge industry that takes advantage of the tens of thousands of less organized people who typically use their credit card advances to pay off other debts. These cash-advance deals must be more than offset by the gigantic interest that banks often charge on unpaid balances — as much as 21 percent.

Even though my credit card company tells me its program is a promotion, of limited duration, it continues to send me new checks faster than I can use them. To date I have made more than \$1,500 by writing checks to myself.

It has occurred to me that someone is doing something very dumb. Either it's the bank, which is risking the loss of a great deal of money, or it's the consumers who aren't taking advantage of this fine deal.

Then again, one friend has suggested that the dumbest person of all is me — for writing about it.

The writer, a businessman, contributed this article to *The Washington Post*, which comments: "Yes, we checked this out. Yes, it works."

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

GENERAL NEWS

Radical Islamic Group Targets Foreigners

Reuters

TUNIS — The Armed Islamic Group is considered to be the most radical and dangerous of Algeria's Muslim fundamentalists and also the most anti-foreign.

Algerian authorities said the gunmen who seized an Air France airliner in Algiers on Saturday were members of the group, which is trying to transform the North African nation into an Islamic republic.

More than 70 foreigners, among them 22 French nationals, have been killed since the group last year gave foreigners a month to get out of Algeria or face death.

In a recent interview in the Algerian Arabic-language daily newspaper *Essalam*, one unidentified leader of the group was quoted as describing foreigners as "the main coronary artery" of a plan to "colonize" the country with non-Muslims.

"Killing and fighting them is the practical message to weaken the unbeliever rulers," he said.

In some propaganda, the group claims to be the heir of the first wave of Muslim guerrilla activists in Algeria.

This movement was considered to have been knocked out of action after its founder, Mustapha Bouyali, was shot to death in 1986 by security forces.

His followers were arrested and sentenced to death, but were freed early in 1990 under pressure from the emerging Islamic Salvation Front.

In the shadow of the now outlawed Front, the country's main Muslim fundamentalist political force, the Armed Islamic Group assembled men and arms, testing its strength in November 1991 by storming an army outpost and killing three soldiers.

'Killing and fighting them is the practical message to weaken the unbeliever rulers.'

An unidentified leader of the Armed Islamic Group

in the southeastern town of Guemar, according to the interview with the unnamed leader.

The group imposed as a key qualification for its leaders that they take part directly in violent operations.

"They should experience armed operations and must demonstrate that they have killed significant numbers among God's enemies," the leader said.

The last chief was Cherif Gousmi, 26, known as Abu Abdallah, who was killed in a gun battle with security forces near Algiers in September.

The group's No. 3, Abdessalam Djemaoune, was gunned down alongside Mr. Gousmi. According to Algeria's official press agency, APS, Mr. Djemaoune was known as the group's specialist in slitting throats, including those of 12 Croatian Christians who were killed at a foreign workers' camp last December.

Mr. Gousmi had headed the group since February, when its former chief, Mourad Sid Ahmed, alias Djaraf Afghani, was shot to death with his men in a gun battle in an Algiers suburb.

Security forces said they had found a letter with Mr. Gousmi's body from Ali Belhadj, No. 2 in the Islamic Salvation Front political command, urging Muslim rebels to intensify their war against the army-backed government.

But beyond that reported link with Mr. Belhadj, political analysts are baffled about the relationship between the Armed Islamic Group and the Islamic Salvation Front, which has its own armed wing called the Salvation Islamic Army.

Some say the groups represent two faces of the same coin, while others see them as competitors.

Hijackers Slow To Recognize Famous Singer

Reuters

MARSEILLE — It took his fundamentalist hijackers a day to realize that among their hostages was César Ferhat, a fervent anti-Islamist crusader and one of Algeria's most popular singers.

But once the guerrillas put a name to his familiar face in Algiers, Mr. Ferhat said Monday, "I was selected for execution."

The singer, 43, is well-known in Algeria and on French television for his prominent role in the public campaign against the Islamist cause.

After telling him he was marked for death, the four guerrillas changed their minds and asked him to act as their go-between with the Algiers control tower, Mr. Ferhat said.

RESCUE: 'Hell' in Cockpit

Continued from Page 1

er. "The only way to put an end to it was to take offensive action," he said.

Major Favier said his men used an emergency plan to storm the aircraft at three points simultaneously because they did not know exactly where the gunmen were.

His force suffered its worst casualties at the front of the plane during an intense gun battle that lasted about four minutes.

"The unit that entered the front of the plane found the four terrorists holed up in the cockpit," Major Favier said.

Witnesses counted at least 50 volleys of automatic fire and numerous explosions.

Thirteen passengers and three Air France crew were injured during the assault, most only scratched or bruised and shaken by the violence of the attack.

The French commandos "told us to get down and crawl toward the exit," said one passenger who gave his first name as Areski.

A woman said: "They told us to lie low and when my husband raised his head, a stewardess shoved it into the seat."

French television said about 50 police officers were involved in the operation but photographers who saw the attack estimated only 20 to 30 men took part in the assault.

Officers were seen helping passengers down the aircraft's inflatable escape chutes, which billowed out after the attack began.

Television showed several blasts of orange flame and heavy smoke in the cockpit. At least one other blast was seen on the tarmac below the plane.

likely to bring the Islamic Salvation Front to power. This year, France has also helped by clamping down on French-based Islamic groups that have allegedly contributed arms and money to the fight against the Algerian government.

More Violence Feared Foreign Minister Alain Juppé said on Monday that Algeria's civil strife would be long-lasting and that he feared more Muslim fundamentalist violence against French interests, Reuters reported from Paris.

HIJACK: French Commando Team Kills Gunmen and Rescues Hostages in Jet at Marseille

Continued from Page 1

pinning down the gunmen while other police opened the rear side doors and began freeing hostages.

Denis Favier, the commander of the unit, said that the police were met by "a rain of automatic fire" as they entered the cockpit. "It was front of the aircraft," he later told a television interviewer at Marseille's Marseillan Airport. "The four gunmen were in the cockpit and we faced intense gunfire."

But, within minutes, even as explosive flashes and clouds of smoke could be seen near the cockpit, emergency doors began opening and escape chutes and sliding down from the plane. Suddenly, a window in the cockpit opened out, fell heavily to the ground and then tipped away toward one of 50 waiting ambulances.

Confusion about what exactly had happened nonetheless lasted for at least another hour. At the news conference in Paris, Mr. Pasqua said that one man had been killed, one was arrested and a fourth was "in the process of being identified." Only later did the Interior Min-

istry confirm that all four gunmen were killed.

The ministry also gave details of other victims. It said two passengers were slightly wounded by gunfire, while 11 were injured in the scramble to flee the plane. Two crew members were also hit by bullets,

and the captain was hurt when he jumped from the cockpit. Of the nine police officers, it said, only one was seriously wounded, losing a hand in the combat.

The exact number of gunmen, who boarded the wide-bodied Airbus A-300 as it prepared to take off from Algiers

on Saturday, was also in doubt. Initially, Algerian authorities said there were four. On Sunday, the same Algerian officials said there were five militants on board. On Monday, French reports spoke variously of four, five and six gunmen.

French radio reports Monday night said that the police were carefully checking the identity of passengers to ensure that no gunman had escaped among them. The gunmen had released 63 Algerian passengers in Algiers as well as an elderly couple Monday afternoon in Marseille, although 153 passengers and 12 crew members were still thought to be on board.

Reports from Marseille on Monday night said that many of the passengers were in a state of shock and were receiving medical attention. Reporters were kept away from them, but one police inspector said, "Many are trembling and clearly very upset." Most are expected to complete their journey to Paris Tuesday.

French government officials said that Algeria was urged to allow the plane to fly to southern France early Monday after French authorities grew alarmed that the Algerian government was about to order its

own attack to end the hijacking. Earlier, France had offered to send its elite commandos to carry out the operation, but had received no answer.

The officials said they feared Algeria was most interested in demonstrating that it would not give in to the Islamic militants, even if this proved fatal to many hostages. With some 40 French nationals among the passengers and crew, however, Mr. Balladur was reportedly insistent that any operation to end the crisis be carried out by the French police.

Mr. Balladur said Monday night, "France will inexorably fight terrorism and will not give in to blackmail wherever it comes from." He also stressed that France was not a party to Algeria's civil war. "We would like it to know peace and know it through democracy," he said.

With 24 French nationals among some 80 foreigners murdered by the Armed Islamic Group over the past 15 months, however, it is apparent that France is still widely viewed in Algeria as a key supporter of the country's military regime.

In December 1991, France backed the regime's decision to cancel a second round of parliamentary elections that seemed

Series of Commando Raids

Agence France-Presse

June 27, 1976: A Paris-bound Air France Airbus is hijacked by a pro-Palestinian commando with 244 passengers on board after a stopover in Athens. The plane, which came from Tel Aviv, lands in Entebbe, Uganda. An Israeli force storms the terminal where the hostages are lying on the floor. Three hostages, the seven terrorists and 20 Ugandan soldiers were left dead.

Oct. 13, 1977: Four Palestinian hijackers seize control of a Lufthansa Boeing 737 en route to Frankfurt from Palma de Majorca in Spain with 87 passengers. The pilot is gunned down. The plane lands at Mogadishu, Somalia, where the German crack unit frees the hostages.

Feb. 19, 1978: An Egyptian anti-terrorist crack unit storms a Cyprus Airways DC-8 in Larnaca, where two Palestinian terrorists hold 11 passengers and four crew members hostage. Fifteen members of the Egyptian unit are killed and 15 others wounded.

Nov. 23, 1985: A Cairo-bound Egypt Air Boeing 737 with 97 people is hijacked after take-off from Athens and re-routed to Malta. The hostage-takers kill two passengers and ask for the plane to be refused. An Egyptian crack unit storms the plane the following day. Sixty passengers and two hijackers die in the assault.

Style



From left, Kashmir-shawl coat; Valentino evening ensemble, 1991; Larvin jacket, 1936-37; Saint Laurent's brocade coatdress, and below, Galliano's take on the geisha.

The Allure of the East in Western Dress

By Suzy Menkes
International Herald Tribune

NEW YORK — Oh for a Thousand and One Nights ball to see out the old year! The sea of black that engulfs the festive season suggests that the exotic has gone out of fashion now that far-flung travel is on everyone's agenda — or at least on television.

The lure and the allure of the Orient are on show at New York's Metropolitan Museum, "Orientalism: Visions of the East in Western Dress" (at the Costume Institute until March 19) takes a tour of history and of the globe, starting with the chinoiserie silks from the 18th century and ending with Jean Paul Gaultier's 1994 Chinese-quoted tartan coat.

Between come a range of exotic inspirations as the flat silhouettes of the 1920s were enlivened with Eastern brocades and embroideries. Low-waisted flapper dresses with sumptuous Chinese embroideries by the Calot Sœurs in Paris shows the ideal fusion of fashion and exotic fantasy.

But for all the splendor of its individual pieces, the exhibition does not quite come off — lacking the richness and texture that are the essence of exoticism. In fact the catalogue, written by the show's curators, Richard Martin and Harold Koda, does a better job of conveying in words and pictures the culture of orientalism. A 1920s dress is illustrated by Georges Barbier in context in a Japonisme interior of cherry-blossom branch and Chinese lacquer furniture.

There are portraits of a turbaned Lord Byron (by Thomas Phillips) as a dashing adventurer; voluptuous women in exotic dress painted by Ingres and Delacroix. A fashion plate of an 18th-century gentleman in powdered wig shows him with three symbols of the exotic: a Chinese robe, a cup of coffee and an opium pipe. Photographs include Horst's stylish 1935 portrait of a socialite in a cheongsam to Ballets Russes dancers in costumes from "Scheherazade" and in attitudes of sexual ecstasy.

Given the Metropolitan Museum's wealth of paintings, drawings and furniture in its archives, it is a pity that its

collection was not used to enrich the fashion exhibition. For both the catalogue's lucid text and the art references point up what is missing from the display of clothes: sex. The point about Orientalism is that it was used for centuries to add spice to dress and to suggest liberty of behavior as well as movement.

The lamp-shade skirt and bloomer pants designed by Paul Poiret before World War I freed a woman's body from restrictive dress and Poiret's famous Arabian costume ball of 1911 was infamous for its air of dalliance and decadence. Dressing up in the clothes of another country gave the wearer a license to behave outside a rigid code of social practice. The colonialist phrase "going native" suggests a fraternizing that was frowned on, even if it was expressed only in clothes.

The way that the exotic was tamed by molding it to a Western form is shown in the (too brief) Indian section, where gauzy Kashmiri fabrics were turned into crinoline dresses. But the Oriental pointed slipper could also be on the other foot.

"Orientalism begins with textiles from the East taking on the shape of the West," says Martin. "But eventually the East comes to change form."

He was referring to fashion absorbing Eastern costumes like sarongs and pareos or Japanese kimonos. The show includes Ralph Lauren's pareos, Issey Miyake's flat pleats and Gianni Versace's India-goes-punk sari-dress held together with safety pins.

A DISTINCTION should be made between designers who use exotic as an embellishment — like the brocades and embroideries from Valentino or Oscar de la Renta — and those for whom the inspiration is deeper than surface texture.

Yves Saint Laurent's many different reprises of Chinese, Moorish and Russian themes all take exotic dress as a starting point for exploration. In recent collections, the British designer John Galiano has made the costume of the geisha girl pivotal to his collections, with variations on the kimono

and a focus on jackets cut from the nape of the neck.

"At the end of the 20th century, designers have every possibility for knowing other cultures," says Martin. "What they are looking for is the image of the East."

It is hard to understand why ethnic cultures are suddenly in or out of fashion. Indian and North African clothes and even Afghan coats were in vogue 20 years ago specifically because of people taking the hippie trail to far-flung places — just as the first Chinese treasures arrived in the West from Marco Polo's 13th-century voyages.

Martin and Koda suggest that clothing often has a political agenda and the appropriation of foreign dress can be read historically as a by-product of colonialism.

But at this end of the 20th century the explanation for exoticism is probably quite simple. Faced with the practical, functional, realistic modern wardrobe and the ubiquitous little black dress, women crave the drama and the sensual pleasure of dressing up.



Karin Wille (L), Christopher Moore (TSL) and Gaultier

BOOKS

DRAWING THE LINE: Tales of Maps and Carto- controversy

By Mark Monmonier. 368 pages.
\$27.50. Henry Holt.

Reviewed by
Jonathan Yardley

MARK Monmonier is a professor of geography at Syracuse University and, more perhaps to the point for present purposes, a prose stylist of no mean ability or charm. His specialty is cartography, out of which he has fashioned a side career as an author of books about maps and mapmaking for

lay readers, the most recent of these being "How to Lie With Maps," published three years ago.

In "Drawing the Line," Monmonier embellishes upon the theme implicit in the title of that earlier volume: Notwithstanding the general, unquestioning faith most of us put in maps, "no map is a thoroughly objective, value-neutral device for describing distances and locations." A map may not at first glance appear to be as subjective as a political tract or a newspaper editorial, but in many cases maps are drawn in the hopes of furthering certain ends and are altered accordingly.

If at times these ends are accomplished, Monmonier says, in substantial measure it is because we are so ignorant about maps. We may from time to time be irritated or inconvenienced by a road map that fails to include the street we're looking for or that sends us off in the wrong direction, but as a rule we have a faith in maps that borders on blind obedience. We assume that the world is as maps describe it, when in fact maps come no closer to perfect representation than do drawings or words.

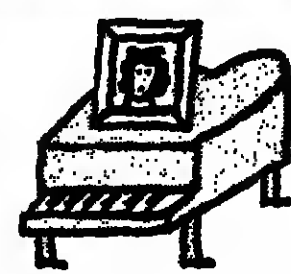
"Drawing the Line" gathers together several case studies of the ways in which maps can misrepresent or deceive. In many ways the most interesting of these is the controversy that arose after the publication in the 1970s of the so-called Peters projection, a world map favored by "left-leaning and religious publications" because it represented the underdeveloped world of Africa, Latin America and Asia as dominating in size — and thus by implication importance — Europe

WHAT THEY'RE READING

• Nathalie Baye, the French film star, is reading "Misia: The Life of Misia Sert" by Arthur Gold and Robert Fildale.

"This wonderful book recounts the fantastic life of Polish born pianist, Misia Sert. She was a model for Laurence and Renoir, friend of Proust and Diaghilev, rival of Coco Chanel. It's a vivid memoir of real-life Bohemian Paris."

(John Brunton, IHT)



and North America. This came in sharp contrast to the widely used Mercator projection, which advocates of the Peters projection dismissed for its "Eurocentric bias."

Arno Peters, the German architect of this novel map, was in fact not a cartographer at all but a journalist and propagandist for leftist causes who had mastered "the art of writing press releases, holding press conferences and exploiting channels markedly different from the scientific journals and technical

conferences commonly used by his critics." He played to an audience "of victims and sympathizers eager to overthrow a tyranny that was at once graphic, ideological and economic." For a time enthusiasm about the Peters projection was so great that his version of the world threatened to become the standard one. Eventually the deficiencies of his portrayal were detected and publicized but, as Monmonier says, "he has won a few sympathizers for his argument that the type of map people com-

monly see conditions their view of the importance of places." Monmonier writes:

"The Peters controversy indicates not only broad ignorance about cartography but also the enormous persuasiveness of maps, even had ones. Naïveté about maps and how they work explains the willingness of educated people — editors, reporters, religionists and development officials — to take Peters seriously. Had these journalists and advocates received a firm foundation in both geography and geometry, the Peters phenomenon would have been impossible. But equally important is the power of even poor maps to organize and communicate information. Pardon the tautology, but if the Peters map were utterly misleading and totally useless, no one would have used it, not even Peters."

Monmonier also examines how maps can be used by government bureaucracies to fuz over difficulties attendant to touchy matters such as toxic-waste disposal, wetlands development and emergency evacuations. At times these discussions drift fairly far from cartography, but sooner or later Monmonier always returns to his central point, which is that "maps are highly selective and necessarily biased." No one who reads "Drawing the Line" is likely to look at a map in the same old way again.

Jonathan Yardley is on the staff of The Washington Post.

CHESS

By Robert Byrne

IN the Intel Quick-Play Grand Prix tourney Garry Kasparov defeated Predrag Nikolic.

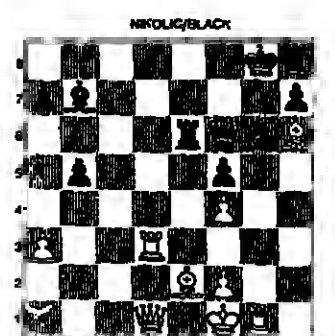
On the aggressive sally with 7 Qg4, the little-played 7... Kf8 that Nikolic favors, the idea is that the king may be safer between the wing and center.

Nikolic's 8... Qc7 challenges White to find a defense to the coming 9... cd. Kasparov's response is his gambit with 9 Qd1!? cd 10 cd Qc3 11 Bd2 Qd4. After 12 Nf3 Qe4, White has lost one pawn and is getting ready to offer another, to attack before Black completes his development. Then, after 13 Be2 Nikolic had tried 13... b6 and the game had become complex after 14 O-O Ba6 15 c4 Nbc6 16 Ng5 Qe5 17 Re1. Kasparov later won, thus persuading Nikolic to shift to 13... Nbc6 now.

On 14... Ne5, Kasparov struck a blow against the dark squares in the black kingside with 15 h6!

Since 22 f3! was threatened Nikolic blocked with 21... f5, but then Kasparov attacked from another quarter with 22 Rb3 Qf6 23 c4! Nikolic could not defend by 23... de 24 Bc4 b6 because 25 Rd3 Bb7 26 Rd8! Rd8 27 Qd8! Kf7 (or 27... Qd8 28 Be6 mate) 28 Qd7 Qe7 29 Be6 Kf6 30 Bg5 is decisive.

After 26 Rg1, Nikolic could



Position after 27... Re5

not play 26... ed 27 Rd5! Bd5 28 Qd5 Qe6 because 29 Bc4 Kf7 30 Qf5 wins outright.

After 26... h5 27 de Re6, Kasparov won a piece with 28 Rd8! Kf7 29 Rd7 Re7 30 Rb7! Nikolic did not bother to play out 30... Rb7 31 Qd5 Qe6 32 Qh7 but gave up at once.

FRENCH DEFENSE			
White	Black	White	Black
1 e4	e6	18 Bb6	Kg8
2 d4	d5	19 Bb1	Nf6
3 Nc3	Bd6	20 Bb1	Qc3
4 e5	c5	21 Bb1	Qc3
5 f4	Be7	22 Bb1	Qc3
6 Qd2	Qc7	23 Bb1	Qc3
7 Qd1	Qc7	24 Bb1	Qc3
8 Qd1	Qc7	25 Bb1	Qc3
9 Qd1	Qc7	26 Bb1	Qc3
10 Qd1	Qc7	27 Bb1	Qc3
11 Qd1	Qc7	28 Bb1	Qc3
12 Qd1	Qc7	29 Bb1	Qc3
13 Qd1	Qc7	30 Bb1	Qc3
14 Qd1	Qc7	31 Bb1	Qc3
15 Qd1	Qc7	32 Bb1	Qc3

HANAE MORI
PARIS

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This prestigious conference will assess the new developments in France following the Presidential elections and will feature key members of the new government in addition to major industrialists and finance and government leaders from around the world.

THE NEW FRANCE: Implications for Global Business

LE GRAND HOTEL, PARIS

OCTOBER 17-18, 1995

Herald Tribune



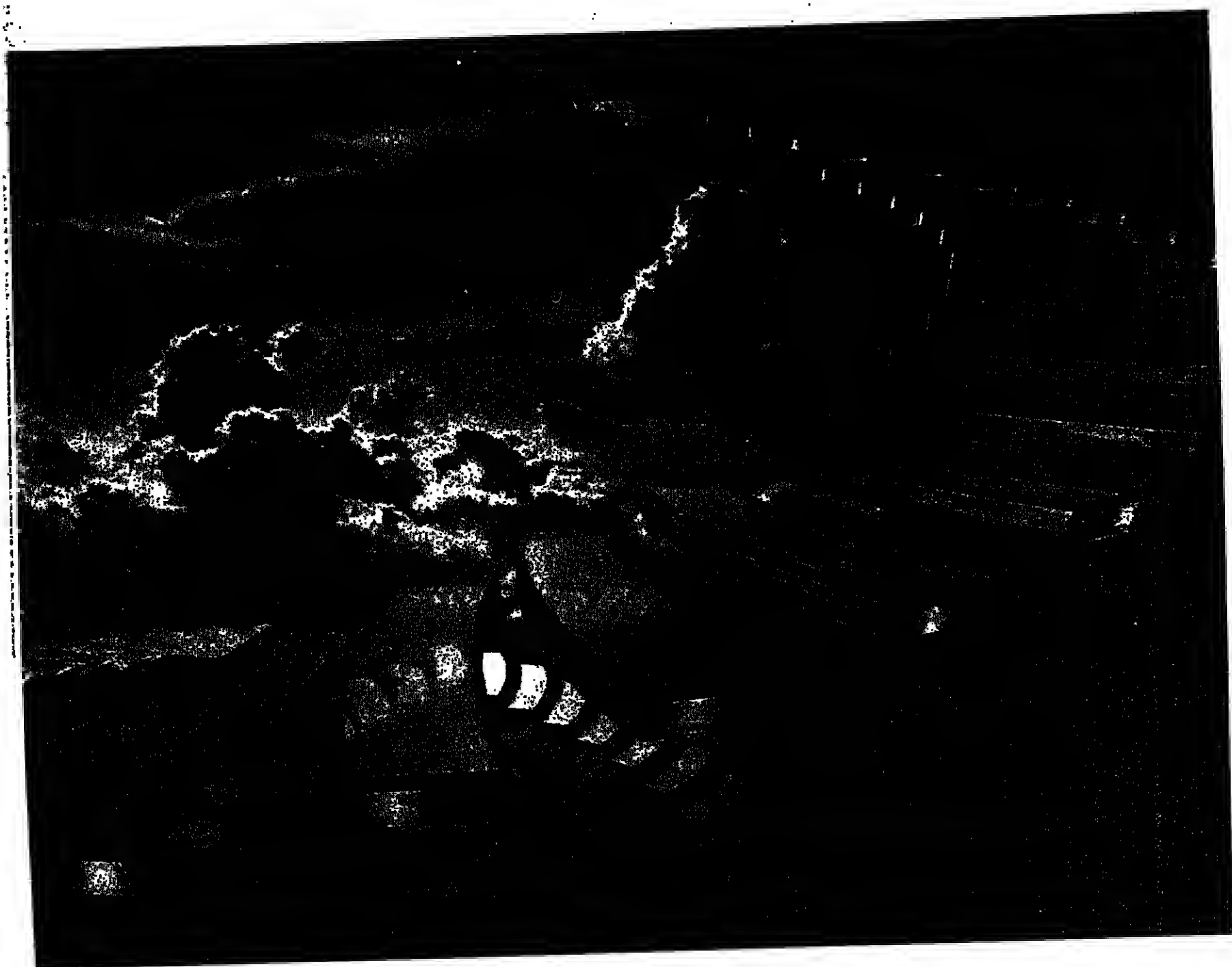
FOR FURTHER DETAILS,
PLEASE CONTACT:

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Fax: (44 71) 836 0717

مكتبة الامم المتحدة



A NEW NAME LEADING TELECOMMUNICATIONS IN ITALY



TELECOM ITALIA was set up on 18 August 1994 through the merging of five companies (SIP, Italcable, Iritel, Telespazio and Sirm) that had until then managed Italian telecommunications separately, and has thus become a global operator in a completely new framework.

TELECOM ITALIA is now the sixth largest telecommunications operator in the world in terms of turnover and one of Europe's prime investors in the sector.

It is a joint-stock company with almost 70,000 investors and 18% of its share capital is held by foreign shareholders.

TELECOM ITALIA has a worldwide presence with 18 representative offices with a large number of other corporate entities, it also has a wide-spread commercial network geared to provide, even abroad a speedy, integrated and innovative answer to the communications requirements of people and companies.

"A sharp decline in financial charges achieved thanks to ongoing economic and financial consolidation is the clear result of a policy based on rational and integrated organization, further strict cost reduction measures and carefully selected large-scale economies in order to become competitive in a free market".

(Francesco Chirichigno)
Managing Director

THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF TELECOM ITALIA

	30.06.94	31.12.93*
REVENUES (BILL)	14.276	23.404
ADDED VALUE (BILL)	11.345	18.164
ADDED VALUE / REVENUES (%)	79.5	77.6
GROSS OPERATING MARGIN (BILL)	7.994	12.327
GOM / REVENUES	56	52.7
OPERATING PROFIT (BILL)	3.136	3.796
NET FINANCIAL CHARGES / REVENUES (%)	5.3	9.8
PROFIT BEFORE TAXATION (BILL)	2.175	1.741
INVESTMENTS (BILL)	3.680	7.963

*1993 FIGURES REFER TO MERGED COMPANY SIP

TELECOM ITALIA - Direzione Generale - via Flaminia, 189 - 00196 Roma

Shanghai Quells Market Faxes That Lack Facts

SHANGHAI — Shanghai has scored an initial victory in a battle against rumor-mongers on the stock market by reining in factious services once guilty of spreading false information, a securities official said Monday.

"We're not trying to control the spread of information. We're trying to protect investors," said Yu Zhongmin, an official at the Shanghai Securities Administration Office who is in charge of implementing the

new rules governing information distribution. "In the long run, we want the market to solve this problem but at the moment it is too immature."

Last month, Shanghai announced regulations curbing all forms of securities information vendors to try to stamp out rampant speculation. The crackdown came after various market-information services reported that Deng Xiaoping, China's paramount leader, was seriously ill. The reports sent stock prices crashing and angered Communist authorities.

China to Probe Financial Firms

SHANGHAI — China's central bank plans to investigate illegal business activities of foreign financial representative offices, the Shanghai Securities News reported.

The paper quoted an announcement by the People's Bank of China saying some of its offices in Shanghai and Shenzhen were directly trading B shares on behalf of their headquarters or other foreign agencies in violation of regulations.

B-class shares are reserved for foreign investors, but representative offices of foreign financial firms are not allowed to engage in commercial activities. Only licensed firms can engage in business. "To some extent this has created chaos in our country's normal financial activities," the announcement said.

Mr. Yu said the aim of the new rules was to stop the spread of rumors purporting to be facts. The rules did not stop news vendors offering analysis or trying to predict market trends, he said. Rumors could be reported if they were moving the market.

"You can report that somebody's health is influencing trading," Mr. Yu said in reference to the reports on Mr. Deng. "But you can't state as fact that this person is ill."

He said fax services were the first to be targeted under the new rules. Of 20 such services existing before the clampdown, more than half have registered with Mr. Yu's office and are now required to submit for review a copy of everything they faxed to customers.

"If you report something as fact but cannot provide us with a source for your information, then we consider that to be false information," Mr. Yu said.

Taiwan Funds Have Wanderlust Managers Brave Competition to Add Asian Offerings

TAIPEI — Taiwan's mutual-fund industry is launching into what some consider an unequal battle with international heavyweights over a slice of Asia's multibillion-dollar share-management business.

The industry had long been content to manage shares traded at the Taiwan Stock Exchange for local and overseas investors, but now it is gearing up to offer funds that consist of shares from other Asian bourses.

"Our companies are striking and trying to compete with the international powerhouses," said Daniel Chiang, vice president at International Investment Trust Co. and manager of the Taiwan R.O.C. Fund, which is listed in New York.

The first step in this process is supposed to occur Friday, when Jardine Fleming Taiwan Investment Management Ltd. plans to begin the sale of the country's first-ever mutual fund of foreign stocks to be traded on the Taiwan Stock Exchange.

Jardine Fleming Taiwan, which is 25 percent-owned by Jardine Fleming Group of Hong Kong, will try to raise up to 3 billion Taiwan dollars (\$14 million) for its JF (Taiwan) Japan New Generation Fund. The fund will hold shares from stock exchanges in Tokyo and Osaka.

Taiwan's mutual-fund industry is heading toward overseas expansion because of government reforms in 1992 that increased the number of industry players to 15 from four. Authorities are expected to allow three more companies to set up by the first half of 1995.

The move has unleashed furious competition at home among fund companies to raise money and generate business. Besides pressure from rival companies, fund managers are squeezed by limited stock choices and conservative securities regulations that limit their ability to differentiate their products. Taiwan only has about 300 publicly traded companies, and it does not have futures or other derivatives markets.

The first four companies to enter the Taiwan mutual-fund industry in the 1980s — China Securities Investment Trust Corp., International Investment Trust, Kwong Hwa Investment and Trust Co., and National Investment Trust — have to try to sell overseas stock funds to local investors. None have been popular.

Yet industry executives said investors now are increasingly interested in overseas stock investments, particularly in

Many observers express reservations about how Taiwan fund managers will match up in head-to-head competition with international managers.

Asia. According to Jardine Fleming Taiwan, Taiwan investors have poured roughly \$1 billion into overseas mutual funds managed by foreign companies in recent years.

Taiwan investors can accept risk and are interested in high growth, and are particularly keen on Asian markets, said Edward Tsai, president of President Investment Trust Corp., which next year plans to offer Taiwan investors a fund consisting of shares from stock markets in Southeast Asia.

Investors "are also comfortable investing in a nearby country," and are comfortable betting on continued regional economic growth, said Jack Pan, manager of Jardine Fleming Taiwan's new Japan stock fund.

The industry's push for regional expansion is getting gradual help from the Securities and Exchange Commission, which is increasing the number of Asian bourses in which it allows local companies to invest. Companies can now buy

shares in Japan, Singapore and Malaysia. The SEC will open new markets as fund-management companies apply, said Lorraine Chen, an SEC official.

Industry efforts to expand into overseas markets are also getting support from an unlikely source: the Central Bank of China. Taiwan's conservative central bank. Last week, the bank urged the SEC to allow more companies to raise money at home for mutual-fund investment overseas.

Although companies are enthusiastic, many observers express reservations about how Taiwan fund managers will match up in head-to-head competition with international managers.

James Hsu, an adviser to Fubon Securities Investment Trust Co., said Taiwan fund companies do not have any experience investing in Asian markets. Fubon is trying to excel by just focusing on Taiwan.

"We're trying to succeed at what we can do best," he said.

Teh-hsin Fu, managing director of the Taiwan office of Fidelity Investments, said overseas expansion is "a very natural outgrowth for the industry," yet it will be a while before the ambitious Taiwanese catch up with top foreign funds.

"One of the most important things they'll need is a track record" to persuade customers, he said. "They don't have a track record right now."

China-Taiwan Trade Is on the Rise

Trade between Taiwan and China rose more than fivefold percent from 1990 to 1993, Taiwan's Board of Foreign Trade said Monday, according to an Associated Press dispatch from Taipei.

The value of trade between the two countries grew to \$14.39 billion in 1993 from \$2.57 billion in 1990, with China's exports to Taiwan rising 140 percent annually while Taiwan exports to China showed a yearly increase of 66 percent, the trade agency said.

Taiwan's trade surplus with China rose to \$1.47 billion in 1993 from \$1.93 billion in 1990, it said.

Investor's Asia				
Hong Kong Hang Seng	Singapore Straits Times	Tokyo Nikkei 225		
11800	2400	26000		
10000	2200	24000		
8000	2000	22000		
6000	1800	20000		
4000	1600	18000		
2000	1400	16000		
0	1200	14000		
1984	1984	1984		
Exchange	Index	Monday Close	Prev. Close	% Change
Hong Kong	Hang Seng	Closed	9,311.28	
Singapore	Straits Times	Closed	2,216.28	
Sydney	All Ordinaries	Closed	1,908.30	
Tokyo	Nikkei 225	18,726.75	18,833.53	-0.47
Kuala Lumpur	Composite	Closed	985.87	
Bangkok	SET	1,352.80	1,361.35	-0.63
Seoul	Composite Stock	1,024.89	1,035.65	-1.06
Taipei	Weighted Price	Closed	6,994.11	
Manila	PSE	2,791.40	2,785.50	+0.21
Jakarta	Stock Index	466.20	466.73	-0.11
New Zealand	NZSE-40	Closed	1,915.23	
Bombay	National Index	Closed	1,892.78	

Very briefly:

- Fume Ltd. raised its profit forecast for the year to March 31 by about 5 percent, to 30 billion yen (\$300 million), because of higher demand for its numerically controlled lathes and industrial robots, the Nihon Keizai's news service reported.
- Nippon Steel Corp. plans to raise steel export prices and ask the government for further deregulation to help Japanese industry maintain its competitiveness.
- Japanese bank profits for the six months to September fell by 16.9 percent from a year earlier, to a combined 785.5 billion yen, as bad-loan write-offs accelerated, the Federation of Bankers Associations of Japan said.
- PT Garuda Indonesia's nine idle Airbus A-300 B4 aircraft will be sold to a private Indonesian company for at least \$81 million, the Antara news agency reported.
- China's car industry will face another poor year in 1995 after seeing profits drop 40 percent in 1994, the China Daily said.
- Guangzhou, China, plans to spend 600 million yuan (\$70 million) to build a pier for passenger ferries serving Hong Kong.

Reuters, Bloomberg, AFP

PESO: As Mexico's Currency Slides, Investors Worry That Other Latin American Countries Face Similar Problems

Continued from Page 9

"People have to avoid the herd instinct that was very damaging in 1982. There is not really a solid reason to sell off in one country because of what happens in another country."

After losing billions of dollars in Mexico last week, investors are indeed looking with a more skeptical eye at two other Latin giants thought to have overvalued currencies — Brazil and Argentina. In both countries, exporters are putting pressure on the governments to devalue their currencies to more international competitive levels.

"Any parallel with the Brazilian situation would be completely groundless," *Gazeta Mercantil*, Brazil's leading financial newspaper, wrote in an editorial.

Argentina, more vulnerable, has \$17 billion in reserves and a

\$6 billion trade deficit. Measured against the gross national product, Argentina's budget deficit is about one-third the size of Mexico's.

Two factors stand against an immediate devaluation of the Argentine peso, which is linked by law to the U.S. dollar.

For President Carlos Menem, who is campaigning for re-election in May, it would be political suicide to tinker with the exchange rate, a cornerstone of his inflation policy.

In addition, the exchange rate can only be changed by a vote in Congress, a long and inevitably noisy process that would give foreign investors plenty of time to pull out of the Buenos Aires stock market.

On Thursday, Mr. Menem and his economy minister, Domingo Cavallo, held a televised news conference to underline

their determination to stick to their foreign-exchange policy.

"We are not Mexico and we will not devalue — Argentina will not alter its course," vowed Mr. Menem, who had radically slashed Argentina's budget deficit after becoming president in 1989. "There will not be a devaluation. Totally to the contrary — we are going to deepen the adjustment measures."

In Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who is to be inaugurated as president on Jan. 1, met with his economic team and said, "In Brazil, there is no hypothesis that calls for a currency devaluation."

Both leaders said they planned to use "Mexico's warning" as a club to demand Congressional support next year for budget austerity.

For Brazil to reach Mr. Cardoso's 1995 goals of 5 percent

growth and 25 percent inflation, down from about 50 percent now, he will need cooperation from Congress to slash state spending and encourage more investment from abroad.

With imports surging into Brazil, the trade surplus is expected to be cut in half next year, taking the country's current-account deficit, the broadest measure of trade, from \$1 billion this year to \$10 billion in 1995. In November, Brazil recorded its first monthly trade deficit in seven years.

"A yellow light has switched on, warning Brazil that it cannot go from megasurpluses to megadeficits in trade," said Carlos Langoni, a former president of the country's central bank. "The great Mexican lesson is the importance of maintaining reasonably balanced trade over the next few years."

For foreign investors, the Mexican devaluation also offers a reminder of the risks of emerging markets and of the propensity of politicians to betray their promises.

"Mexico's officials were perceived as the most credible in Latin America," Lars Schonander, Latin American economist for Baring Securities Ltd. in New York, said. "Their word was good. Now their word is not good. Where does that leave Brazil, a country with an appalling record of economic plans going up in flames?"

Seeking lessons on Latin America from Mexico, analysts also look at issues of political stability.

In the past year, Mexico has undergone a guerrilla revolt in

the Chiapas state and the assassinations of the ruling party's president and presidential candidate. But of the region's other leading countries, political instability seems only to threaten Venezuela, a nation with a shrinking economy and rising inflation.

Venezuela's gross domestic product shrank 3.3 percent in 1994, the Central Bank said Monday, according to a Knight-Ridder dispatch from Caracas. Inflation was estimated at 70.8 percent for this year, up from 45.9 percent in 1993.

In the next six months, voters in Peru and Argentina are expected to re-elect incumbent presidents who have put their country's economies on high-growth, low-inflation tracks.

Can U.S. Investors Weather Mexico Storm?

By Louis Uchitelle
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The steep decline in the value of the Mexican peso has resulted in a potential loss of roughly \$8 billion to \$10 billion for American investors in Mexican stocks and bonds, according to estimates by Wall Street analysts.

U.S. owners of Mexican stocks took the biggest hit, suffering not only from the peso's devaluation but also from falling stock prices. Their holdings were worth roughly \$20 billion on Dec. 1 and \$13.5 billion on Friday, the analysts estimated.

"These losses are spread out over a lot of people and institutions in the United States," said Lawrence Brainard, head of research for Chase Securities Emerging Markets Group, a subsidiary of Chase Manhattan Corp. "And now these investors are trying to figure out whether to stay in Mexico or sell their securities, take their losses and leave."

Mr. Brainard, Nariman Behraves, international economist at DRI/McGraw-Hill, and Brian Barish, head of emerging market research at Lazard Freres & Co., said Americans represent \$45 billion to \$50 billion of the \$73 billion in foreign investment in Mexico.

Roughly \$15 billion is in direct investment in factories, machinery and buildings — investments that are largely immune to devaluation, particularly if their goal is to make goods for export from Mexico.

The remaining \$30 billion to \$35 billion is in stocks, government bonds and other forms of Mexican interest-bearing peso securities.

Mexico's economic future might hinge on whether American investors will devalue, at least for a while, as they did after financial crises in the 1970s and 1980s.

Already, Mexican government officials and some American bankers and financiers are arguing that nothing has really changed. They say the peso, having lost more than a quarter of its value against the U.S. dollar in a single week, is now at its proper level, and Americans can once again invest safely and profitably in Mexico.

That was the message from Mexico's secretary of commerce, Jaime Serra Puche, when he met with American executives at the Federal Reserve Bank in New York on Friday. He said that Mexico would hold to policies that restrict domestic credit, balance the budget and maintain the peso's value, now that the pressure on the peso had been relieved.

While some Americans at the meeting raised doubts about the future, others backed Mr. Serra's effort to get investment back on track.

"If the Mexican government implements the program as outlined by Minister Serra, this should give additional opportunities for accelerated Mexican economic growth and therefore make Mexico attractive for investment," said William Rhodes, vice chairman of Citibank, a major holder of Mexican debt.

Mutual funds and pension funds, the biggest holders of Mexican debt, apparently suffered the largest losses from last week's fall in the peso, and some brokerage houses that trade in Mexican securities also may have lost money.

Fidelity Investments, the Boston-based

mutual fund company and one of the biggest investors in Mexican stocks and bonds, said that eight of its funds had held about \$800 million in Mexican securities on Dec. 19, the day before the Mexican government announced a 14 percent devaluation in the peso, beginning a process that accelerated when the government decided to float the peso.

Clients of Bear, Stearns & Co. held more than \$1 billion in Mexican securities, according to Alan Greenberg, chairman of the Wall Street firm. Bear, Stearns is one of the most active American investment houses in the Mexican market, trading not only for clients but investing tens of millions of dollars of its own money.

Mr. Greenberg and Warren Spector, the firm's executive vice president, refused to say if Bear, Stearns itself had lost money as a result of the falling peso, but they suggested that the firm had not. "We are very pleased with our performance," Mr. Spector said, "and we are not reducing our commitment to Latin America."

Mr. Spector and Mr. Greenberg argued that Mexico remains a good investment, because its economy is slowly gaining in efficiency and industrial production.

"People will get their confidence back and once again they'll be buying Mexican securities," Mr. Greenberg said.

But others on Wall Street are less sanguine than Mr. Greenberg and Mr. Rhodes. "The Mexican government still needs to spell out a coherent set of economic policies given that the peso has been devalued," Mr. Brainard of DRI/McGraw-Hill said.

EUROPEAN FUTURES

Stock Index

Financial	High	Low	Close	Change
3-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
6-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
12-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
15-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
18-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
21-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
24-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
27-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
30-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
33-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
36-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
39-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
42-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
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63-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
66-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
69-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
72-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
75-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
78-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
81-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
84-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
87-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
90-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
93-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
96-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
99-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
102-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
105-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
108-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
111-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
114-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
117-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
120-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
123-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
126-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
129-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
132-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
135-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00

CAC 40 (MATIF)	High	Low	Close	Change
F200 per point index				
Jan	1971.00	1965.00	1965.00	+5.00
Feb	1971.00	1972.50	1972.50	+1.50
Mar	1971.00	N.T.	N.T.	0.00
Apr	1971.00	N.T.	N.T.	0.00
May	1971.00	N.T.	N.T.	0.00
Jun	1971.00	N.T.	N.T.	0.00
Jul	1971.00	N.T.	N.T.	0.00
Aug	1971.00	N.T.	N.T.	0.00
Sep	1971.00	N.T.	N.T.	0.00
Oct	1971.00	N.T.	N.T.	0.00
Nov	1971.00	N.T.	N.T.	0.00
Dec	1971.00	N.T.	N.T.	0.00

Est. volume: 5,075. Open int.: 60,972.

Source: *Market*

18-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	High	Low	Close	Change
18-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
21-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
24-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
27-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
30-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
33-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
36-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
39-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
42-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
45-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
48-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
51-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
54-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
57-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
60-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
63-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
66-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
69-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
72-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
75-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
78-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
81-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
84-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
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129-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
132-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00
135-MONTH FIBOR (MATIF)	474	474	474	0.00

Est. volume: 5,077. Open int.: 137,151.

Markets Closed

Most financial markets in Asia, Europe and the Americas were closed Monday for Christmas. They will reopen Tuesday.

WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Agencies Report Press Dec. 26

Paris	High	Low	Close	Change
Accor	272	265	265	-7.00
Airtel	242	242	242	0.00
Alcatel	242	242	242	0.00
Alstom	242	242	242	0.00
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SPORTS

In Racing-Mad Hong Kong, Gambling Is 'Magic'

Second in a series

By Andrew Beyer
Washington Post Service

HONG KONG — When the Breeders' Cup was run at Churchill Downs in Kentucky, virtually every track in the United States offered wagering on the event, and the betting totaled \$84 million, a formidable figure by American standards.

Four nights later, on the other side of the world, Happy Valley racecourse here conducted a six-race program. The quality of the competition was moderate; there were no special attractions. Yet the wagering added up to \$117 million, the equivalent of \$20 for every man, woman and child in Hong Kong.

All of the betting statistics here are similarly amazing. Last season, \$8.6 billion was wagered on the races at Happy Valley and Sha Tin, almost as much as the annual handle in the United States, even though Hong Kong's two tracks run only about 500 races a year. And these numbers reflect only legal wagering; illegal action is said to be massive, too, because bookmakers entice their customers by offering rebates on losing bets. Nothing in the world compares to the level of gambling in Hong Kong.

I had expected the race tracks here

to be as frenetic as the city itself. But, on my first night at Happy Valley, I was mostly struck by the quietness of the crowd of 35,000. Virtually every horseplayer was carrying and consulting at least one racing publication. Many were wearing earphones, listening to radio commentary on the races. They went about the business of gambling in deadly earnest; this was no mere recreation.

The local passion for betting mesmerizes everyone who observes it. Paul Makin, an Australian gambler, migrated to Hong Kong because of the rich opportunities it offers, and he observed, "People here seem to have a different attitude toward winning and losing than you and I. They take the rise and fall of fortune as a natural part of life. They love to bet. That's why it's magic here."

Why is Hong Kong such a horse-crazed city? The answer lies in its unique culture and ethnic composition.

The British established racing traditions in most of the countries they have colonized. Here, it was planted in a culture that harbors no puritanical qualms about betting. It is a popular notion that the Chinese rank among the world's most avid gamblers. But Felix Cheung, a magazine editor, takes exception to this stereotype, asserting

Andrew Beyer, the horse racing columnist of The Washington Post, spent the past month traveling in the Far East.

that the Chinese in Macao and Singapore "are not so gambling-mad."

"The reasons for the level of betting here are social and economic rather than cultural," he speculates.

Hong Kong is an affluent city in which plenty of people have disposable income with which to gamble. It is a city devoted to business and commerce. So what better form of amusement could there be than one that involves making money?

"In America," said Major General Guy Watkins, chief executive of the Royal Hong Kong Jockey Club, "you have many other sports which arouse major TV and spectator interest. We don't have that here. No team from Hong Kong is involved in competition with another city. Racing has made itself into the major sports opportunity."

The betting boom here is a recent phenomenon. Although the Royal Hong Kong Jockey Club dates from the last century, it used to be a clubby, elitist institution, content to do a modest level of business. But after the Communists took power in China and refugees flooded into Hong Kong, the

political upheaval had at least two profound effects on racing. First, thousands of these immigrants were going to the races at Happy Valley, boosting its business to record levels. The influx of refugees also created massive social problems and a need for more government revenue in a city with a fierce aversion to income taxes.

So the governor and the chairman of the Jockey Club struck a plan to turn over a substantial portion of revenues from racing to civic purposes. Over the years, money from racing would build hospitals and colleges and a 40,000-seat stadium.

The grateful government in turn allowed the Jockey Club a monopoly on gambling. Its business has grown steadily and the racing industry is one institution unworried about its future after 1997, when China takes over Hong Kong from Britain. General Watkins has met with Chinese leaders and he said: "They know we provide resources for the government. They've told us, 'You don't have to worry at all.'"

As it sought to maximize its revenues, the Jockey Club developed a betting system as sophisticated as any in the world. It runs 124 off-track betting facilities throughout Hong Kong. It has a massive telephone betting operation, which takes more than 500,000 phone calls on a race day. Most of the

on-track betting is done on efficient self-service terminals.

But racing in Hong Kong has one restraint on its growth: space. Every inch of real estate in this city is precious; there is limited space available for stabling and training facilities, and none for breeding farms. All racehorses are imported and members of the Jockey Club must draw lots for the right to have one of the 900 or so thoroughbreds who can be stabled here.

The quality of racing is, by world standards, moderate: the top horses would be no better than allowance-class runners at an American track; the skill of the jockeys is not impressive. But the leaders of the industry take an understandable pride in all they have created, and they are disappointed that only one aspect of their racing is noticed by the outside world.

In a history of the sport here, author Austin Coates wrote, "The beauty of the night races, the splendor of the Sha Tin course, the fraternity existing between thousands of people of different races and nationalities... none of this is noticed abroad; only the betting."

But the gambling is indeed what makes Hong Kong racing so unique and so compelling. The drama of the races themselves is nothing compared to the dramas in the grandstand.

UConn-Israeli Ties Growing (Upward)

By Jack Cavanaugh

New York Times Service

STORRS, Connecticut — As the fifth Israeli to play basketball at the University of Connecticut in the last five seasons, Uri Cohen-Mintz has this distinction: at 6 feet, 10 inches, he is the tallest of that group.

But before he is done, the 21-year-old Cohen-Mintz hopes to be remembered for more than his height. And the UConn men's coach, Jim Calhoun, says he thinks he will be.

"Uri can be a very good player for us," Calhoun said recently. "And by next year he could be a starter. He's very athletic for his size and he shoots exceptionally well from outside. Uri's also a good passer and handles the ball well. But he has to improve on his dribble."

Cohen-Mintz's main drawback is not his game, but his lack of strength. "Uri is the weakest kid on the team, and as a result gets knocked off the play a lot," said Calhoun, whose Huskies are off to a 5-0 start and ranked 10th in The Associated Press poll.

Cohen-Mintz, a freshman who weighs 215 pounds (95 kilograms), agreed that he has to get stronger to withstand the banging in the Big East Conference. "The Big East is a very physical league and you can get pushed around if you're not strong," he said.

So far, Cohen-Mintz has been brought along slowly. He has played only a few minutes, grabbed one rebound and made one of five shots he has taken. But Calhoun expects that he will be more of a force as the season progresses.

"If he were stronger, Uri could be our sixth or seventh man," the coach said, "but as it is he's our ninth or 10th player. But I think that's going to change once he gets stronger."

Cohen-Mintz is the latest member of the UConn's Israeli connection, which began when Nadav Henefeld spent the 1989-90 season with the Huskies.

After Henefeld, Gilad Katz was a backup guard for Connecticut for two seasons, and Orly Grossman joined the nationally ranked women's team for the 1990-91 season. Then, last season, the 6-5 Doron Sheffer had an outstanding freshman season with the Huskies.

Cohen-Mintz said the presence of Sheffer, a sophomore with one more year of eligibility, has made it easier for him to adapt to the school. For one thing, it gives him someone to speak with in Hebrew, both on and off the basketball court.

"I like the atmosphere here," Cohen-Mintz said. "But it's very different from Israel."

For a student still struggling with the English language and a new environment, Cohen-Mintz has not shied away from difficult courses. During the first semester, his study load included courses in algebra, sta-

tistics, English and theater and dance. And during the spring semester his courses will include physics and calculus.

Cohen-Mintz's father, Donchum, who is 6-8, was an outstanding player in Israel in the 1960s. "He was the George Mikan of Israel," Calhoun said, referring to the former Minneapolis Lakers star who was the first great big man in American basketball.

Despite his parental legacy, Cohen-Mintz did not take basketball seriously until he was 15. But he has made swift progress, and last summer he played with Sheffer on the Israeli team in the 22-and-under championships in Europe.

Before that he spent a mandatory three-year term in the Israeli Army (as did Henefeld, Sheffer and Katz), and then played with the Givat club team last season, averaging 15 points and 9 rebounds a game.

"I had heard about Uri during some of my trips to Israel," said Calhoun. "First, I saw him play on tape, and then last April I got to see him in person."

Such recruiting has helped make the Huskies one of Israel's favorite American college basketball teams.

Sheffer, last season's rookie of the year in the Big East, said, "Nadav started the relationship between Israel and UConn, and if he hadn't, I don't think UConn would still be getting players from Israel and that players from Israel would be considering UConn."

Tim Tolokan, associate director of athletics at Connecticut, said that Sheffer is more known in Israel than Henefeld. "Doron is huge in Israel," said Tolokan, who heads the UConn sports information office. "When he went back to play in the qualifying championships in November, he was greeted like a hero. The anticipation was tremendous."

The Israeli news media interest in the Huskies continues to grow. "We get calls constantly from newspapers and the electronic media," Tolokan said.

"We send out box scores and summaries to a number of Israeli papers, including The Jerusalem Post. And this season 13 of our games are being shown on Israeli television, most of them on tape delay. We've even had TV crews come to Storrs from Israel to do segments on Doron and Uri."

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SCOREBOARD

BASKETBALL

NBA Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE			
Atlantic Division			
Orlando	10	5	300
New York	12	12	280
New Jersey	12	16	269
Boston	10	15	262
Philadelphia	9	16	260
Atlanta	8	15	248
Washington	7	16	244

Central Division			
Cleveland	17	8	366
Indiana	16	8	362
Charlotte	14	11	360
Chicago	13	12	358
Atlanta	11	15	323
Detroit	9	14	321
LA Clippers	7	17	292

PACIFIC DIVISION			
Phoenix	19	6	360
LA Lakers	16	8	357
Portland	12	10	343
Sacramento	13	11	342
Golden State	9	15	331
LA Clippers	3	22	170

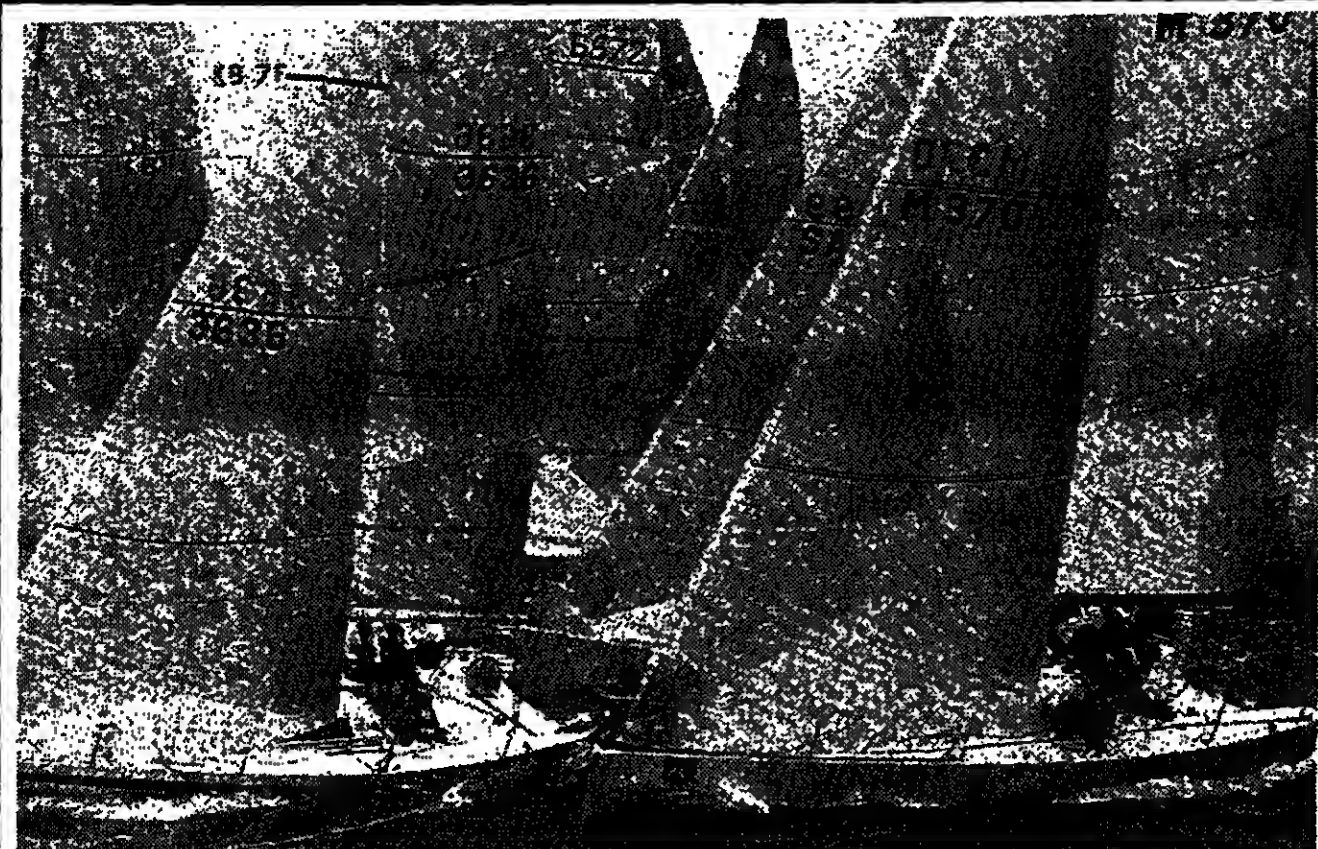
WESTERN CONFERENCE			
Midwest Division			
Utah	10	8	292
Houston	14	9	289
San Antonio	12	9	291
Dallas	10	12	285
Denver	12	11	282
Minnesota	8	16	268

SUNDAY'S RESULTS			
Seattle	24	21	26-36
Denver	75	73	33-26-85
St. Louis	8-12	4-5	21-21-21
Rockets	8-12	2-2	2-2
Knicks	8-12	4-4	2-2
Warriors	8-12	4-4	2-2
Trail Blazers	8-12	4-4	2-2
Clippers	8-12	4-4	2-2
LA Lakers	8-12	4-4	2-2
LA Clippers	8-12	4-4	2-2

Top 25 College Results			
NYU	64-52	Seton Hall	52-64
NYU	64-52	Seton Hall	52-64
NYU	64-52	Seton Hall	52-64
NYU	64-52	Seton Hall	52-64
NYU	64-52	Seton Hall	52-64
NYU	64-52	Seton Hall	52-64
NYU	64-52	Seton Hall	52-64
NYU	64-52	Seton Hall	52-64
NYU	64-52	Seton Hall	52-64
NYU	64-52	Seton Hall	52-64

NATIONAL CONFERENCE			
East			
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall

West			
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall
NYU	64	52	Seton Hall



A CROWDED OCEAN — With spinnaker sails billowing in every color of the rainbow, 371 yachts, a fleet twice the size of any other in the history of the Sydney-to-Hobart race, set sail Monday from Australia for the 50th anniversary of the blue-water classic. The maxi Brindabella, which held a big lead throughout last year's race until apparently hitting a whale and retiring with a damaged hull just short of Hobart, had taken the early lead again.

English Premier League: Arsenal 1, Aston Villa 0; Coventry 2, Manchester United 2; Crystal Palace 0, Queens Park Rangers 0; Everton 1, Sheffield Wednesday 4; Leeds 0, Newcastle 0; Liverpool 1, Liverpool 2; Manchester 2, Wimbledon 2; West Ham 1, Ipswich 1.

Standings: Manchester United 44 points, Blackburn 43, Newcastle 39, Liverpool 36, Nottingham Forest 34, Leeds 33, Norwich 30, Tottenham 29, Chelsea 28, Manchester City 28, Arsenal 25, Coventry 25, Wimbledon 25, Southampton 24, Sheffield Wednesday 24, Queens Park Rangers 22, Crystal Palace 22, West Ham 22, Everton 19, Aston Villa 17, Leicester 14, Ipswich 13.

Baseball: St. Louis 10, Houston 7; Boston 10, New York 7; Atlanta 10, Philadelphia 7; Pittsburgh 10, Cincinnati 7; Chicago 10, Cleveland 7; Detroit 10, Toronto 7; Milwaukee 10, St. Paul 7; Minnesota 10, Kansas City 7; Oakland 10, Los Angeles 7; San Francisco 10, San Diego 7; Texas 10, Houston 7; Seattle 10, Los Angeles 7; Anaheim 10, Oakland 7; Baltimore 10, New York 7; Tampa Bay 10, St. Petersburg 7; Florida 10, Miami 7; Atlanta 10, Philadelphia 7; Pittsburgh 10, Cincinnati 7; Chicago 10, Cleveland 7; Detroit 10, Toronto 7; Milwaukee 10, St. Paul 7; Minnesota 10, Kansas City 7; Oakland 10, Los Angeles 7; San Francisco 10, San Diego 7; Texas 10, Houston 7; Seattle 10, Los Angeles 7; Anaheim 10, Oakland 7; Baltimore 10, New York 7; Tampa Bay 10, St. Petersburg 7; Florida 10, Miami 7.

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ART BUCHWALD

Holiday Togetherness

WASHINGTON — For many parents the Christmas holidays are the happiest days of the year. The children are home from college, everyone is in a good mood, and all of us learn what family celebrations are really about.

And so it is for my friends, Joene and Bill Gessner, who spend the entire month of December counting their blessings — and talking about seeing them again.

I stopped by the other day to invite Bill and Joene to see the show

Buchwald

"Tommy" with me, but Joene said, "We'd love to, but Cameron, Grant and Katie are home from school and we get so little time with them that we're not making any appointments for the next two weeks."

"I can understand that," I told Joene. "Where are the kids now?"

Bill said, "Katie is skiing in Sugarbush, Cameron went to visit his girl in Fort Lauderdale, and Grant is upstairs sleeping."

"At 1 in the afternoon?" Joene tried to explain. "He didn't get in till 4 in the morning. We know because we watched old movies on TV all night waiting for him."

"Where you worried about him?"

"No, we just wanted to see what he looked like. Kids change so fast, you have to grab them while you can."

"Maybe you were a little hasty when you tore up your entire social calendar to spend time with the children. They don't appear to have much time for you," I suggested.

Bill sounded defensive. "That isn't true. Grant came down this morning at 10, had a

cup of coffee and went back to bed. It was very exciting, particularly when he recognized both of us."

Joene added, "We even talked for several minutes, and he told us many things about his life and what his hopes and dreams were for the future."

Bill turned to Joene and said, "Did you hear something? I think he's up."

Joene clapped her hands. "He's up, he's up. I have to make him a wonderful breakfast."

I said, "I guess this is a big moment for me. I am rarely around when a college student is on his feet."

□

I then asked, "What are you guys doing New Year's Eve?"

"We're keeping it open in case the kids want to spend it with us. Last year they all went out, but perhaps this year we'll just build a lovely fire, roast chestnuts and sing 'Auld Lang Syne' with their friends."

Bill told me, "They would never forgive us if we made plans for ourselves when they were home, even if they wanted no part of them."

"Out of curiosity, what do you talk about when the kids are home?"

"It's never happened," Joene confessed. "The minute they come in the door they throw their bags in the hall and are off to see their pals. We know that they're O.K. because we call the parents of their friends and they give us a full report on our children. In turn we do the same for them."

"Well, if you change your mind about Tommy let me know."

"We can't. We haven't heard from Cameron in a week. We have to stay here on the off chance that he could come through the door at any minute."

□

India's Bandit Queen, Outlawed Live and on Screen

By Molly Moore

Washington Post Service

NEW DELHI — Phoolan Devi was born dirt poor, low caste and female. She grew up hard and fast in rural north India: married at age 11, abandoned by her husband, jailed, raped, kidnapped by bandits.

By the time she was 20, Devi had turned outlaw, and in the inhospitable desert ravines of her native land she became a legend, feared and revered as the "Bandit Queen," leader of a gang of dacoits — robbers — that plundered and murdered, often stealing from the rich higher castes and sharing with the poor lower castes.

Her story is the stuff of movies: Modern Indian Robin Hood and Bonnie Parker, with a touch of Gloria Steinem. But "Bandit Queen" — India's nominee for Best Foreign Film Oscar — has become one of the most controversial films ever to come out of Bombay's "Bollywood" studios.

The Indian film censor board has banned the movie because of its rape scenes, nudity and depiction of sensitive political issues. Devi, who is illiterate and was only recently freed after 11 years in prison, has sued to keep the film out of Indian cinemas, charging invasion of privacy.

The debate over "Bandit Queen" has infuriated a public that has been forbidden to see the movie even though it has been shown at the Cannes, London and Toronto film festivals.

But the rancor over "Bandit Queen" goes deeper than the debate over sex and violence. The movie offers a brutal view of the way women are treated in poor rural Indian society.

"Her personal story, extraordinary as it is, reflects many aspects of life as experienced by thousands of women in rural India who continue to strive against a feudal order that persists in a 'modern' society, a society in which peasantry collides with capitalist markets and technology," Mala Sen, Devi's biographer, writes in her introduction to "India's Bandit Queen: The True Story of Phoolan Devi," from which the movie was adapted.

Seema Biswas, the 29-year-old actress who plays Devi in the movie,

said she found the role so traumatic that she suffered a near breakdown during the filming.

"I was married when I was 11," Devi begins, swathed in a white cotton sari that swallows her now-frail 4-foot, 10-inch (1.47-meter) frame. "If I hadn't gotten married at that young age, my life would not have been ruined."

Speaking with a reporter at her New Delhi apartment, where she is attempting to begin a new life with a new husband, she says softly in her native Hindi dialect, "Even now I fight with my mother about it."

One of six children born to a poor north Indian farmer who worked other people's arid land, Devi said her parents struggled just to feed their offspring. When a relative found a prospective groom, her parents agreed to the match. The man gave the family a cow, customary in marital arrangements, and took the frightened bride home.

"My parents had the best intentions for me," Devi now says. "They thought, 'He's got money. My daughter will be married. She'll be happy.'" Her large brown eyes harden. "No one knew that he was not a man, he was a monster."

Devi said that her husband took a second wife and that the two often beat her. Finally he abandoned her on a riverbank.

How she ended up with bandits is murky. She said she was kidnapped and physically abused by the gang leader. As to why she gave in, even when she had the chance to escape, Devi told her biographer, "A piece of property has no choice."

In the early 1980s, in the ravines of the rugged Chambal Valley in the state of Uttar Pradesh, the legend of the Bandit Queen was born. At the height of her fame, Devi was glorified by newspapers. The Phoolan Devi Doll, in her signature uniform with a bandolier, was one of the hottest-selling toys in India.

But just as the villages were divided by caste, so were some of the bandit gangs. Thus, one day two upper-caste outlaws shot and killed the lower-caste bandit who was Devi's lover. Devi was taken to the village of



Phoolan Devi: "A piece of property has no choice."

Behmai and gang-raped by a group of upper-caste men.

In the scene that most scandalized the censor board, Devi is stripped and forced to walk naked through the village, fetching the men water from a well as the entire village looks on.

Devi, in an interview, did not deny that the events occurred but said it was an invasion of her privacy to put them on display in movie theaters. "The most private and sensitive things in a woman's life have been portrayed in this film," she said.

In real life and in the movie, Devi sought her revenge. On Feb. 14, 1981, her gang stormed an isolated village. Devi recognized the village as Beh-

mai, the home of the two men who had murdered her lover and the site of her humiliation.

Sen's biography and newspaper accounts say Devi had her men sweep the town in search of the murderers. Two dozen upper-caste men were dragged from their homes and lined up on a riverbank. The bandits opened fire, leaving 20 dead.

The police put 2,000 officers and a helicopter on her trail. In adventures worthy of Keystone Kops episodes, Devi repeatedly outsmarted the police.

While the press and the villagers delighted in the escapades of the Bandit Queen, she was no laughing matter for politicians. The political

pressure became so intense that V. P. Singh — later prime minister of India — had to resign as chief minister of Uttar Pradesh.

Finally, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi told law enforcement officials that if they couldn't catch Devi, they should cut a deal with her — on her terms — for her surrender.

In February 1983, with most of her gang members dead and her health failing, Devi agreed to surrender on the conditions that she not be hanged, that her men serve no more than eight years, that her brother be given a government job, that her father be given a plot of land and that her entire family, along with the family cow and goat, be escorted by police to her surrender ceremony.

She was charged with 48 crimes, including allegations that she shot some of the 20 men killed in the Behmai massacre. But for 11 years her trials were delayed by changes in government and jurisdictional feuds. Finally, when a lower-caste political party won election in Uttar Pradesh, she was freed on bail.

"In jail, my only dream was to get out," said Devi. "I thought life would be easy once I was free. I didn't know I would have to continue my fights."

Within weeks, the controversy over the movie created a renewed media feeding frenzy. She has received death threats, and the government has assigned bodyguards to her.

As for her legal situation, the movie couldn't have come at a more delicate time. There are still 48 criminal charges, including murder, pending. One of Devi's greatest fears is that movie scenes could be used against her in a trial.

Even though she is now at war with her biographer, Sen, and received \$13,000 for the rights to her story for the movie, Devi already has begun cooperating with a French author for a new biography.

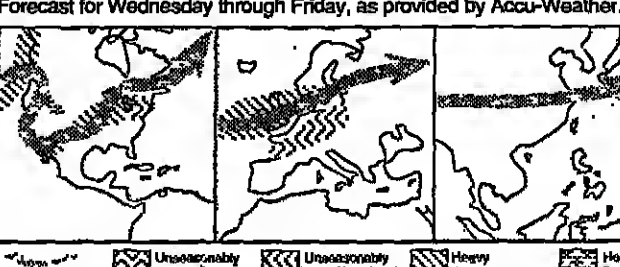
But mostly, Devi says she just wants to move on with her life. She married a New Delhi business contractor five months after she left prison. Now she says she would like to start a national social organization to help poor women, child brides and women newly released from prison.

WEATHER

Europe

	Today	Low	High	Tomorrow	Low	High
CF	CF	CF	CF	CF	CF	CF
Algeria	17/23	9/18	17/23	12/23	5/18	17/23
Amsterdam	10/17	7/12	10/17	10/17	7/12	10/17
Antwerp	10/17	7/12	10/17	10/17	7/12	10/17
Athens	19/25	14/19	19/25	14/19	14/19	19/25
Batavia	14/27	8/14	14/27	14/27	8/14	14/27
Bombay	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Buenos Aires	20/27	15/20	20/27	15/20	15/20	20/27
Calcutta	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Cairo	24/31	19/24	24/31	19/24	19/24	24/31
Canton	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Colon	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Copenhagen	10/17	7/12	10/17	10/17	7/12	10/17
Dublin	10/17	7/12	10/17	10/17	7/12	10/17
Hankow	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Hong Kong	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Kobe	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
London	10/17	7/12	10/17	10/17	7/12	10/17
Lyons	10/17	7/12	10/17	10/17	7/12	10/17
Manila	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Medan	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Osaka	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Paris	10/17	7/12	10/17	10/17	7/12	10/17
Peking	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Rangoon	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
San Francisco	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Singapore	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Sourabaya	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Taipei	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Tokyo	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Yokohama	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23

Forecast for Wednesday through Friday, as provided by Accu-Weather.



North America
Quite mild Wednesday and Thursday in Washington, D.C., and New York City with sunshine, then a chance for rain Friday. Chance for a shower in Los Angeles Wednesday, then sunshine Thursday and Friday. Some sunshine each day Wednesday through Friday in Mexico City.

	Today	Low	High	Tomorrow	Low	High
CF	CF	CF	CF	CF	CF	CF
Buenos Aires	20/27	15/20	20/27	15/20	15/20	20/27
Calcutta	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Canton	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Colon	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Copenhagen	10/17	7/12	10/17	10/17	7/12	10/17
Dublin	10/17	7/12	10/17	10/17	7/12	10/17
Hankow	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Hong Kong	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Kobe	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
London	10/17	7/12	10/17	10/17	7/12	10/17
Lyons	10/17	7/12	10/17	10/17	7/12	10/17
Manila	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Medan	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Osaka	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Paris	10/17	7/12	10/17	10/17	7/12	10/17
Peking	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Rangoon	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
San Francisco	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Singapore	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Sourabaya	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Taipei	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Tokyo	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Yokohama	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23

Asia

	Today	Low	High	Tomorrow	Low	High
CF	CF	CF	CF	CF	CF	CF
Bangkok	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Bombay	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Canton	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Colon	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Copenhagen	10/17	7/12	10/17	10/17	7/12	10/17
Dublin	10/17	7/12	10/17	10/17	7/12	10/17
Hankow	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Hong Kong	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Kobe	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
London	10/17	7/12	10/17	10/17	7/12	10/17
Lyons	10/17	7/12	10/17	10/17	7/12	10/17
Manila	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Medan	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Osaka	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Paris	10/17	7/12	10/17	10/17	7/12	10/17
Peking	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Rangoon	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
San Francisco	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Singapore	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Sourabaya	29/37	24/31	29/37	24/31	24/31	29/37
Taipei	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Tokyo	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23
Yokohama	17/23	12/17	17/23	12/17	12/17	17/23

Africa

ENTERTAINMENT Weekly magazine has named Tom Hanks entertainer of the year. "It's an embarrassment of riches," Hanks said in an article in the *magazine*, recalling a year that included an Oscar for his role in "Philadelphia" and widespread acclaim for his performance in "Forrest Gump." "I mean, you can't plan on this, and you can't desire it too much," he said. "You can only sort of let it wash over you and say, 'Man, oh man! How'd that happen?' Who was that guy?" The Top 12 are, besides Hanks: the actor-comedian Tim Allen, director Quentin Tarantino, the actress Heather Locklear, the actor-comedian Jim Carrey, author Michael Crichton, the actor Hugh Grant, actress and talk-show host Ricki Lake, the hip-hop quartet Boyz II Men, the actor Dennis Franz, actor-comedian Brett Butler and the alternative-rockers Trent Reznor of Nine Inch Nails.

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A Los Angeles judge has decided to let the first batch of Academy Award ballots go out without the movie "The Last Seduction." The Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences ruled John Dahl's "The Last Seduction" ineligible because it made its debut on television, and makers of the film